CRITICAL EDITION OF, AND INTRODUCTION TO ST. JOHN CHRYSOSTOM'S DE SANCTO BABYLA, CONTRA IULIANUM ET GENTILES.

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PREFACE

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LITERARY FORM

Chrysostom's De Sancto Babyla, contra Iulianum et Gentiles is an apology for Christianity directed to pagans. It is a treatise, not a sermon, written in the form of an ancient declamation.

The discourse is an apology for Christianity, provoked by the pagan reaction under Julian the Apostate (A.D. 361-363). Hence it contains a general indictment of pagan religion and culture (nn. 40-50), and a specific attack on Julian (nn. 76-91; 118-126).

The work is aimed at pagans, whom Chrysostom designates as unbelievers (οἱ διαπιστοῦσι τοῖς γεγενημένοις [p. 13,6]), scoffers (οἱ κόμπον τινὰ πεπλασμένον τὰ παρ' ἡμῖν εἶναι λέγοντες [p. 36,15]), devotees of pagan religion (κακοῦργοι, γόητες, λοιμοί [p.55,16 s]), and intellectuals (φιλόσοφοι καὶ δεινοὶ ῥήτορες [p. 9,7]). Because this treatise was addressed in part to sophists, Chrysostom did not feel it inappropriate to discuss in detail an oration of the famous Antiochene sophist, Libanius (nn. 98-113). Throughout the work Chrysostom refers to Christians as ἡμεῖς , and addresses pagans as ὑμεῖς (nn. 85, 121; 20, 75, 86). He also uses the literary device of an imaginary pagan opponent, whose challenges he regularly overcomes (nn. 9, 17, 43, 46, 47, 48, 50, 73, 74, 78, 99, 124, 125). In fact the pagan opposition is viewed from the start as defeated and helpless (n. 21):

> Καθάπερ γὰρ ἂν τις προαχθείη τοξεύειν τὸν οὐρανὸν
> ὡς διαρρήξων αὐτὸν τοῖς αὐτοῦ βέλεσιν ἢ τὸν ὠκεανὸν
> ἐξαντλεῖν ὡς κενώσων αὐτὸν ταῖς ἑαυτοῦ χερσὶν, οὐδεὶς

> ὅστις οὐ γελάσεται τῶν ἀστειοτέρων αὐτόν,
> οἱ δὲ σεμνότεροι καὶ δακρύσονται δάκρυσι πολλοῖς,
> οὕτως ὅταν ἡμῖν Ἕλληνες ἀντιλέγωσι γελᾶν αὐτοὺς
> καὶ δακρύειν καλόν· πολλῷ γὰρ τοῦ τὸν οὐρανὸν
> τρώσειν ἐλπίζοντος καὶ τὴν ἄβυσσον κενώσειν
> ἀπορωτέροις ἐπιχειροῦσι πράγμασιν.

That the work is a treatise, rather than a sermon which was delivered orally, has been concluded by most scholars.[1] Baronius (1538-1607) is apparently the only one who believed the work was a sermon.[2] His belief was based on the presence within the work of numerous references to hearing (nn. 22, 25, 31) and speaking (ἐρῶ [2, 22, 27, 96, 110, 125], εἶπον [3, 22, 30, 50, 78, 96], ἔφην [16, 55, 97], λέγω [23, 48, 67, 73, 98]), plus the exclamation μὴ θορυβηθῆτε (22, 75). But these rhetorical mannerisms do not prove that the work is a sermon; while there are positive indications that it is a treatise. For Chrysostom refers to this discourse as a λόγος; and states that he is "writing" it (γράφω ὑμῖν [78]). Further, oral delivery is precluded by the length of the work (thirty-nine pages in the Migne edition). And finally, the work was apparently written when Chrysostom was a deacon,[3] and not permitted to preach.[4]

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[1] L. de Tillemont, Mémoires pour servir à l'histoire ecclésiastique des six premiers siècles (Paris, 1706), 11, 588; J. Stilting, "De S. Joanne Chrysostomo," ASS Sept. 4, 438; H. Lietzmann, "Ioannes Chrysostomus," RE 9 (1916), 1814; J. Quasten, Patrology (Westminster, Maryland, 1963), 3, 467.

[2] Tillemont, ibid.

[3] Cf. infra p. 32.

[4] C. Baur, John Chrysostom and His Time, tr. M. Gonzaga (Westminster, Maryland, 1959), 1, 161.

Thus the apology is a treatise intended to be read. But its form corresponds to that of an ancient declamation, which consisted of two parts: an introduction (the πρόλογος or προλαλία) and the main body (the ἐπίδειξις).[1] The striking aspect of this literary form is that it lacks a formal conclusion. According, the treatise *De Sancto Babyla, contra Iulianum et Gentiles* may be divided into two parts, an introduction and the main body of the work. The introduction (nn. 1-21) states the theme of the discourse; while the illustration of this theme with specially apt examples fills the main body of the treatise (nn. 23-127). The main section of the discourse is connected to the introduction by a transition paragraph (n. 22).

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[1] Cf. Libanius *Or*. 1,55; 4,8.

THEME

The theme of De Sancto Babyla, contra Iulianum et Gentiles, or what Chrysostom conceived in rhetorical terminology as the ὑπόσχεσις of his work,[1] is the power (δύναμις) of Christ as the source of Christianity's victory over paganism and Hellenic culture. This theme is most succinctly stated in paragraph sixteen, where Chrysostom explains the cause of the Christian victory in these words: Τὸ δὲ αἴτιον οὐκ ἦν τῶν ἁλιέων ἐκείνων οὔτε τὰ ῥήματα οὔτε τὰ θαύματα ἀλλὰ τῆς εἰς αὐτοὺς ἐνεργούσης δυνάμεως τοῦ Χριστοῦ. Thus in this treatise Chrysostom raises the question, why did Christianity succeed; and answers, because of the power which Christ possessed and in His infinite goodness bequeathed to His disciples (nn. 6, 8). The scriptural text upon which he bases his conclusion is John 14.12a, which he quotes twice (nn. 1, 8): Ἀμὴν ἀμὴν λέγω ὑμῖν, ὁ πιστεύων εἰς ἐμὲ τὰ ἔργα ἃ ἐγὼ ποιῶ κἀκεῖνος ποιήσει καὶ μείζονα τούτων ποιήσει. Reference is also made to Luke 10.19 (n. 12): Ἰδοὺ δέδωκα ὑμῖν τὴν ἐξουσίαν τοῦ πατεῖν ἐπάνω ὄφεων καὶ σκορπίων, καὶ ἐπὶ πᾶσαν τὴν δύναμιν τοῦ ἐχθροῦ, καὶ οὐδὲν ὑμᾶς οὐ μὴ ἀδικήσει.

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[1] Cf. De S. Babyla, p. 31,2; and Chrysostom, Quod nemo laeditur 1,6 (ed. Malingrey).

This theme is illustrated by the history of Babylas, martyr-bishop of Antioch,[1] who while alive exhibited Christ's power as παρρησία or confidence (nn. 30-39), and whose relics possessed the δύναμις of the Lord (nn. 68-97). While alive Babylas used his παρρησία to defend his church against an evil emperor (nn. 30-33); and his relics produced sobriety at Daphne, the pleasure-gardens of Antioch (nn. 68-72), and silenced the oracle of Apollo located there (nn. 73-91), and caused the temple of Apollo at Daphne to partially burn down (nn. 92-97). The power of Christ possessed by Babylas both during and after his life is summarized by Chrysostom at p. 68,7ss:

> Οἶον γάρ τις ἀριστεὺς τροπαίοις συνῆπτε τρόπαια, μεγάλοις μείζονα καὶ θαυμαστοῖς θαυμαστότερα. Τότε μὲν γὰρ πρὸς βασιλέα μόνον ἠγωνίσατο νῦν δὲ καὶ πρὸς βασιλέα καὶ δαίμονα, καὶ τότε μὲν τῶν ἱερῶν περιβόλων τὸν κρατοῦντα ἀπήλασε νῦν δὲ τοῦ χωρίου παντὸς τῆς Δάφνης τὸν λυμεῶνα ἀπήγαγεν οὐ χειρὶ χρώμενος καθάπερ καὶ πρότερον ἀλλ' ἀοράτῳ δυνάμει τὴν ἀόρατον καταγωνιζόμενος. Καὶ ζῶντος μὲν οὐκ ἤνεγκε τὴν παρρησίαν ὁ ἀνδροφόνος, τελευτήσαντος δὲ οὐκ ὑπέμεινε τὴν κόνιν οὔτε ὁ βασιλεὺς οὔτε ὁ δαίμων ὁ ταῦτα κινῶν τὸν βασιλέα ποιεῖν.

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[1] Cf. *De S. Babyla*, pp. 70,17; 96,14.

The theme is apologetic: its aim is to convert pagan unbelievers by persuading them, through contemporary miracles, of the truth both of New Testament marvels, and the living power of Christ.[1] For Chrysostom writes:[2] . . .εἴ τις ἀπιστεῖ τοῖς ὑπὸ τῶν ἀποστόλων γεγενημένοις, τὰ παρόντα θεωρῶν παυέσθω τῆς ἀναισχυντίας ποτέ.

This apologetic theme is illustrated, as we have seen,[3] by the history of Babylas; a history which contains, incidentally, polemic (against pagans in general [nn. 40-50], against Julian the Apostate [nn. 76-91, 118-126], against Libanius the sophist [nn. 98-113]), and encomium of the martyr-bishop Babylas (nn. 34-38, 57-60). These controversial and panegyrical elements serve not only the apologetic theme which is directed towards pagans, but also, incidentally, serve as a source of edification for his Christian audience.

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[1] De Sancto Babyla, pp. 16,8ss; 17,17s.

[2] Ibid., p. 55,2s.

[3] Cf. supra p. 5.

CONTENT

In the introduction (πρόλογος) of his treatise, Chrysostom states and elaborates the theme (ὑπόσχεσις) of his discourse (nn. 1-21). Christ, he writes, gave His disciples the ability to work miracles (n. 1); of all teachers He alone had the power to make such a dispensation (n. 3). The source of Christ's gift was His inestimable goodness, with which He benefitted pagans and Christians alike (nn. 6, 8). This power was utilized by the apostles, as the book of Acts witnesses (n. 9). Opposed to the power of demons (n. 13), it prevails over pagans and the devil himself (n. 12), and is ultimately responsible for the victory of Christianity (n. 16).

The main body (ἐπίδειξις) of the treatise is devoted to the history of St. Babylas, bishop of Antioch martyred in the Decian persecution (A.D. 249-251), whose feast day is recorded in the Martyrologium Hieronymianum as January twenty-fourth,[1] although it is celebrated by the Greek church on September fourth.[2] In this discourse Chrysostom divides his account of the great bishop into two sections, which he designates as the παλαιὸς λόγος (nn. 23-63) and the νέος λόγος (nn. 67-127). This division corresponds to historical and theological differences which he perceived within the history of Babylas he had chosen to narrate.

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[1] H. Delehaye and others, Acta Sanctorum: Propylaeum Decembris (Brussels, 1940), IX Kal. Feb., n. 2, pp. 33-4.

[2] C. Baur, John Chrysostom and His Time, tr. M. Gonzaga (Westminster, Maryland, 1959), 1, 204.

He distinguishes the "ancient account" from the "modern account" on historical grounds. The "ancient account" is part of ancient history (De S. Babyla, p. 16,13). The characters involved were from ancient times.[1] The source of this account is hearsay (ibid., p. 16,8); and older teachers of the church would be able to relate this part of the bishop's history.[2] This early narrative is separated by a long period of time from the more recent events (ibid., p. 48,16s).

The "modern account," on the contrary, concerns things which are present and seen; specifically, an incredible recent event which occurred during the present generation (ibid., p. 16,11). Martyrs of this period are called elsewhere by Chrysostom "fresh and newly slain."[3] Again, in his homily on Babylas, Chrysostom affirms that he himself, as a young man, is able to relate these events, which had happened during his own time.[4]

Corresponding to the difference in time is a theological distinction between the two λόγοι ; the "ancient account" is concerned with the noble acts of Babylas when he was alive; while the "modern account" includes the miracles he effected after his death (ibid., p. 105,18s). For Chrysostom testifies that

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[1] PG 50, 571,5s infra.

[2] PG 50, 529,18ss.

[3] PG 50, 571,7 infra.

[4] PG 50, 529,10s.

Babylas' relics performed miracles in recent times. Not a corpse but "alive" and "potent" (ibid., pp. 71,2s; 77,17ss), his relics contained a power (nn. 89, 90), variously designated as of God (n. 93), of Christ (n. 118) or simply divine (n. 109). In his homily on the bishop, written a minimum of three years later than this treatise, Chrysostom explains how the death of a martyr is not the end of a human life, but the beginning of something greater;[1] and that there resides with a martyr's body the grace of the Holy Ghost, a more potent spiritual force than the human soul, which, through the miracles it performs, testifies to the resurrection of the holy martyr.[2]

But despite the historical and theological differences existing between the two sections of his history, Chrysostom emphasizes the unity which pervades them. He writes (p. 16,16s): "Both are united to one another, and it is impossible to separate their connection." Further, he promises that he will not merely relate ancient history, but will continue the story through modern times; and that all of the ancient material will be vitally connected with the more recent subject matter (p. 16,14s). The connecting link between the two parts of the story, is the spiritual power of the martyr Babylas, which showed itself equally when the bishop was "dead, when alive, when guarding places and, again, after having deserted them (p. 105,18s)." In addition, the miracles of the modern history are used as proof to lend credence to the bold actions of Babylas narrated in the ancient history. For, as Chrysostom writes, "the successful acts of this martyr after his death are sufficient to lend belief to this account [of Babylas' life] (p. 48,12ss)." Finally, he emphasizes the unity of his history by commanding a veneration of ancient martyrs equal to that of recent ones. The actions of Babylas' life, though they took place in ancient times, have significance for us today: the flower of martyrdom does not wither.[1]

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[1] PG 50, 529,51s.

[2] PG 50, 529,45-49.

The historical content of the two λόγοι is stated rhetorically by the writer at the conclusion of his treatise (n. 127). The "ancient account" contains Babylas' defense of the laws of God, when they were violated by an arrogant emperor; and his just punishment of the culprit.[2] While the modern history relates how after his death the bishop destroyed the power of the devil, and refuted the deceit of the pagan Greeks. The historical content of both sections of the narrative are worthy of closer consideration.

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[1] PG 50, 572,3-6 infra.

[2] In his homily on the martyr, Chrysostom expresses more poetically the bishop's accomplishments in life, and includes his martyrdom: "Babylas preserved this holy ship [the church at Antioch] in storm and surf and waves; he showed great freedom of speech towards the emperor, risked his life for his flock, and received the blessed slaughter (PG 50, 529,12-18)."

Babylas[1] became bishop of Antioch under the Gordians (A.D. 238-244);[2] he was martyred in the Decian persecution (A.D. 249).[3] The "ancient account" tells of his martyrdom; while the "modern account" is concerned with the later adventures of his relics under Gallus (A.D. 351-354) and Julian (A.D. 361-363).

The ancient history of Babylas (nn. 23-63) tells of a conflict between the bishop of Antioch and an unknown emperor, "ruler of the greater part of the whole world (p. 22, 10s)." The emperor killed a child that had been entrusted to him as a hostage; he then attacked the church, whereupon the bishop refused to let him enter the vestibule of his church, and demanded punishment for his crime. These acts of Babylas led the emperor to imprison him, and finally to execute him.[4] As the crown of his martyrdom, Babylas asked to be buried with his chains. Similar accounts of his martyrdom are given by Eusebius[5] and Leontius of Antioch.[6]

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[1] BHG 205-208; ASS (Antwerp, 1643ff.), Ian. 3, 183-195.

[2] Eusebius, H.E., 6,29,5.

[3] Ibid., 6,39,4.

[4] In Hom. 9 in Epist. ad Ephes. (PG 62, 71), Chrysostom describes Babylas' imprisonment and execution in the same way.

[5] Eusebius, H.E., 6, 23.

[6] Leontius of Antioch in the Chronicon Paschale, ed. L. Dindorf (Bonn, 1832), 1, 503f. Cf. P. Peeters, "La passion de S. Basile d'Epiphanie," AB 48 (1930), 305.

The modern account of Babylas (nn. 67-127) is concerned with the miraculous events associated with his relics at Antioch in the time of Gallus (A.D. 351-354) and Julian (A.D. 361-363). It begins on March 15, 351 when Constantius appointed as caesar of the east his nephew Gallus,[1] who immediately went to Antioch.[2] He was an ardent Christian,[3] and, desiring to combat paganism at Antioch, built a martyrium near the temple of Apollo at Daphne, famed pagan suburb of Antioch, to house the relics of the martyr Babylas (pp. 48,18ss; 51,4ss). As a result the oracle of Apollo was silenced (p. 56,8ss).[4] In A.D. 355 Julian the Apostate became caesar of the west (p. 57,1ss); and in November 361 the sole emperor. Arriving at Antioch on July 18, 362,[5] he consulted the oracle; and, when he received no reply, was told that it was silent because of corpses present in the neighborhood (p. 61,9ss).

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[1] E. Gibbon, The Decline and Fall of the Roman Emperor, ed. Smeaton (New York, n.d.), 1,600s; A. Piganiol, L'Empire chretien (Paris, 1947), pp. 85ss.

[2] Socrates, H.E. 2,28 (PG 67, 276).

[3] Sozomenus, H.E. 3,15 (PG 67, 1084s).

[4] Socrates, H.E. 3,18 (PG 67, 425); Sozomenus, H.E. 5,19 (PG 67,1273ss). The relics of the bishop had lain, up to the time of Gallus, in the common Christian cemetery in the city (De S. Babyla, pp. 68,2s; 70,18ss; 73,5s). This is affirmed by G. Downey, "The Shrines of St. Babylas at Antioch and Daphne," Antioch-on-the-Orontes (Princeton, 1938), 2, 45s, against the incorrect opinion of C. Müller, Antiquitates Antiochenae (Göttingen, 1839), p. 105, that Babylas was originally buried in the church across the river.

[5] J. Bidez, La vie de l'empereur Julien (Paris, 1930), p. 400, n. 1.

Julian then directed that the coffin of Babylas be removed from Daphne (p. 65,8ss); and the coffin was returned by Christians to Antioch, and reburied in the Christian cemetery (p. 68,1ss).[1] Shortly thereafter, on Oct. 22, 362, the temple of Apollo caught fire, and the roof and statue of the god were burned. Chrysostom states that Babylas' relics caused the fire (p. 71,4ss).[2]

With the burning of the temple of Apollo, caused by the power of Babylas' relics, the modern history of the bishop ends. The ancient and modern accounts of Babylas together form the history of the martyr, which constitutes the main body (ἐπίδειξις) of the treatise De Sancto Babyla, contra Iulianum et Gentiles. This history of the bishop is not, however, bare narrative; it also contains prominent panegyric, polemic and moral-didactic elements, which may best be studied by a careful analysis of the two sections of Babylas' history.

THE "ANCIENT ACCOUNT" (nn. 23-63)

The ancient history of Babylas is divided into five parts, which constitute five acts in the tragedy of the martyr-bishop.[3]

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[1] Philostorgius, H.E. 7,8 (p. 92, ed. Bidez).

[2] Julian, Misopogon 361b (ed. Bidez); Socrates 3,19 (PG 67, 428); Sozomenus 5,19-20 (PG 67, 1277ss).

[3] Cf. n. 56 where Chrysostom describes the ancient history as a τραγωδία with a περιπέτεια.

These five acts include: the story of a Roman emperor's wanton slaying of a young prince entrusted to him as a hostage (nn. 23-27); which is followed by Chrysostom's theory of repentance, designed to show why the emperor was not punished immediately by God for his crime (nn. 28-29). The third act consists of Babylas' expulsion of the emperor from the vestibule of his church (nn. 30-53); which is succeeded by the arrest (nn. 54-56) and execution of the bishop (nn. 57-62). Throughout the ancient history, Chrysostom's method of narration is to state the facts simply (φιλὸν ῥῆμα [n. 32]), and then rhetorically and dramatically to enlarge upon them, in order to inspire his readers with the appropriate πάθος , whether pity, indignation or anger (cf. nn. 25, 26). And finally he adds moral and didactic comments upon the events. To reveal the narrative technique more fully, the several acts will be examined separately.

Act one (nn. 23-27), the story of a king, presumably a Roman emperor, and the hostage entrusted to him whom he savagely murdered, is a historical narrative told with few specific details in general terms. The emperor is τις and the former enemy is ἔθνος τι , while the chronology of the event is merely designated as ἐπὶ τῶν προγόνων τῶν ἡμετέρων (n. 23); and the reason given for the peace treaty is a rhetorical topos, rather than a historical aitia. The vagueness of the narrative may be explained in various ways. Photius, for example, believed that Chrysostom customarily omitted from his narrative anything which might detract from its moral significance (Bibl. 172-174 [PG 103,505A]). Norman, on the other hand, commenting on Libanius Or. 1,13, states that writers of the Second Sophistic habitually omitted definite names.[1] While Delehaye notes how Christian authors scrupulously avoided mentioning the names of their pagan opponents.[2] But here the case seems to be that Chrysostom simply lacked the additional details (τἄλλα οὐκ ἔχω λέγειν [n. 23]). The absence of detail, however, is made up for by an abundance of rhetoric and rhetorical commonplaces. Act one thus consists of narrative and drama.

By way of contrast there follows a discussion of crime and punishment, which has been designated the second act (nn. 28-29). An imagined auditor asks why the emperor was not punished immediately; and Chrysostom replies that God's law demands a lapse of time in which the sinner may repent.

The third act, containing Babylas' expulsion of the emperor from the church vestibule, is the longest (nn. 30-52). The expulsion itself occupies a small part of the text, the bulk of which contains Chrysostom's commentary on the action, derived, as he explains, from a careful consideration of the significance of the events (n. 40). He begins by narrating the expulsion of the emperor (n. 30), and then gives the scriptural basis of the heroic act. Quoting John 8,34 he explains that the true slave is the sinner, while the innocent and just man is the real king, so that Babylas was able to chastise the emperor as a slave of sin (n. 31).

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[1] A. Norman, Libanius' Autobiography (Oxford University Press, 1965), p. 151.

[2] H. Delehaye, Les passions des martyrs et les genres littéraires (Brussels, 1921), p. 208s.

After a dramatic description of the expulsion (nn. 32, 33), Chrysostom discusses four positive results (κατορθώματα [nn. 40, 51]) of Babylas' act: he demonstrated apostolic παρρησία (nn. 34-38); he impressed the pagan world with the greatness of Christian heroism (nn. 40-50); he asserted the dignity of the priesthood above secular power (n. 51); and he demonstrated the importance of devotion to one's duty (n. 52). The second positive result of Babylas' act, its influence upon the contemporary pagan world, contains a polemic against Greek culture designed to show the superior virtues of the Christian community (nn. 40-50). This polemic consists of four arguments. First, Babylas demonstrated the superiority of Christian religious ritual. Next, he refuted the vainglory of pagan philosophers and ascetics; in particular the unkempt Cynic philosopher Diogenes (n. 45). Third, he demonstrated the childishness of pagan παρρησία . Chrysostom compares Diogenes' παρρησία towards Alexander the Great, and emphasizes that no benefit accrued to humanity at large from the philosopher's bold speech; while Babylas acted not for vainglory, but from a sincere desire to benefit his fellow human-beings (nn. 46-47). Finally, Babylas emphasized the higher level of Christian morality. Although Diogenes may have possessed ἐγκράτεια, it was part of an otherwise sordid existence; and even more corrupt was the incest advocated by the Stoa, and the homosexuality fostered by the Academy (nn. 48-49). It is clear that, in discussing the bishop's influence on the pagan world, Chrysostom has adapted with slight changes of emphasis an actual polemic against pagan religion and morality to fit the history of Babylas.

Indeed he himself characterizes this polemic as a digression. For at the close of this section he appends a resume with the words: "Let us return to the main subject of the discourse (n. 50)."

The third act is thus chiefly a commentary on the significance for Christianity of Babylas' expulsion of the emperor from his church. Acts four and five follow, in which, contrariwise, the tragic action comes swiftly to a conclusion. One new and significant theme emerges in the last two acts. Scarcely mentioned earlier in the narration (cf. nn. 27, 29, 31, 52, 53), this theme is significant because it explains the relationship between the events narrated in the ancient history. It is expressed by Chrysostom most succinctly in paragraph fifty-three: Ψυχὴ γὰρ ἅπαξ ἁμαρτίας γευσαμένη καὶ ἀναλγήτως διατεθεῖσα πολλὴν παρέχει τῷ νοσήματι τὴν προσθήκην. Chrysostom's view is that a sinner not corrected and chastened becomes progressively worse; and that sin not immediately ejected from the soul soon dominates the whole nature (nn. 54, 55). In the emperor's case, his moral disorder led from the slaughter of a hostage to an attack upon the church, and thence to the desecration of the grand dignity of the priesthood (n. 54, cf. n. 27):

> Ἐπειδὴ γὰρ τὸν νέον ἐκεῖνον ἀπώλεσεν ἀπὸ τοῦ φόνου πρὸς τὴν ὕβριν τὴν εἰς τὸν νεὼν ὥρμησε καὶ πάλιν ἐκ ταύτης ὁδῷ προβαίνων εἰς τὴν κατὰ τῆς ἱερωσύνης ἀπόνοιαν ἐπαπεδύσατο, καὶ τὸν ἅγιον σιδήρῳ δήσας καὶ εἰς δεσμωτήριον ἐμβαλὼν οὕτω τέως ἐκόλαζε. . . .

Chrysostom believes that the emperor's sins grew progressively worse; but his point of view is determined more by dramatic necessity than ethical considerations. For the emperor's final crime was the martyrdom of Babylas; and just this martyrdom was the peripeteia of the ancient history (n. 56). A moralist and not a historian, Chrysostom interpreted the events of history as a drama, in which the players were motivated solely by good and evil. He established a moral, not historical or causal, connection between the emperor's three crimes, and connected the murder of a royal hostage, an attack upon the church and the martyrdom of its bishop as three manifestations of the emperor's evil nature.

THE "MODERN ACCOUNT" (nn. 67-127)

Thus the ancient history of Babylas is an account of his martyrdom, presented in the form of a drama. As an apology it functions positively through impassioned encomium of the martyr and the Christian life in general (nn. 34-53, 57-60, 63). In contrast, the modern history of the bishop directly and violently attacks paganism as represented by Julian the Apostate and Libanius, a contemporary pagan orator of Antioch (nn. 76-79, 98-113). The historical narrative is no longer arranged in dramatic acts; it is more succinct, less rhetorical (nn. 67, 76-97, 114-126).[1] The didactic element is correspondingly stronger; and Chrysostom repeatedly emphasizes that the purpose of his narrative is to persuade and convert pagans (p. 48,11s; cf. pp. 70,14s; 74,12): Οὐχ ἁπλῶς κομπάζων ταῦτα λέγω νῦν ἀλλὰ πρὸς ὠφέλειαν τὴν ἡμετέραν τοῦτο γεγένηται. . . . Indeed, the entire structure of the modern history is masterfully adapted to illustrate the apologetic theme of the discourse.

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[1] But cf. De S. Babyla, p. 61,13, where Chrysostom characterizes his narrative concerning Julian as a drama.

The transition from the ancient to the modern history consists of a discussion of the nature of "relics;" for Babylas' relics form the subject of the modern history. Then the historical narrative proceeds: Gallus (A.D. 351-354) ordered the bishop's relics to be transferred to Daphne, in order to restrain the license of the luxurious pagan suburb (n. 67). Chrysostom then describes Daphne in the words of Libanius' lament on that site (n. 68) and in terms reminiscent of the sophist's description of Daphne in his famous encomium of Antioch (*Or*. 11,234). He next enumerates two results of Gallus' move: first, sobriety replaced revelry at Daphne (nn. 70-72); second, the oracle of Apollo located there was silenced (nn. 73-75). In the beginning people thought its silence was due to the want of sacrifices and offerings occasioned by Christian rulers; but the cause of its silence was revealed, paradoxically and to the dismay of the pagan world, by the god's pious worshipper Julian the Apostate.

When Julian became emperor he began to reestablish pagan rites, and accordingly requested an oracle from Apollo at Daphne (nn. 76-86). Informed that the oracle was silent because of the presence of bodies in the neighborhood, he ordered Babylas' casket be removed from Daphne, and brought back to the city (nn. 87-91). Shortly afterwards, Babylas' relics demonstrated their power and caused the temple of Apollo and the famous statue of the god therein to partially burn down (nn. 92-97). At this point Chrysostom inserts his discussion of Libanius' Monody on the destruction of the temple of Apollo (nn. 98-113). He ridicules the lament, and through generous quotation derives additional material for his polemic against the ancient religion of the Greeks.

The remaining section of the modern history is devoted to answering two questions which have arisen in the course of the narration. First, Chrysostom asks, why was only part of the temple destroyed (nn. 114-117)? Second, why did God spare Julian and punish Apollo by the conflagration of his temple (nn. 118-126)? The answer to both questions is the same: these acts were accomplished by God's providence in order to warn Julian to desist from his impiety, and to exhort others in the future against the worship of idols. Finally, to illustrate how God's vengeance came slowly but surely upon Julian, Chrysostom narrates the tragic history of Julian's Persian campaign (A.D. 362-363), during which the emperor perished. Here he recalls an earlier portion of the ancient history of Babylas devoted to God's law of repentance and punishment (nn. 28-29).

The modern history closes with a rhetorical resume of the accomplishments of the bishop when alive, and when dead through his relics: a continuous progression of successes corresponding to the continuous progress of the Christian soul from mortal life and death to heavenly life (p. 46,12ss).

USE OF SACRED SCRIPTURE

The treatise De Sancto Babyla, contra Iulianum et Gentiles contains nineteen quotations of Holy Scripture, six from the Old Testament and thirteen from the New Testament.[1] These quotations, when compared with the Septuagint text of Rahlfs or the New Testament text of Nestle or Merk, are either, in comparison with these editions, (1) exact quotations or (2) paraphrases (perhaps cited by memory) and/or (3) offer variants, which appear correspondingly in the critical apparatus of Rahlfs or Nestle and Merk.[2] The quotations are analyzed in the table below.

Old Testament

			LXX: Chrysostomus (=C)
Exact Quotations	Ps. 63,8-9	p. 9,1s	
	Sir. 4.22	p. 37,16	
	Sir. 19.30	p. 9,19	
Paraphrases	Ex. 32.32	p. 43,6s	καὶ νῦν ante εἰ μὲν om C ἐξ-άλειψόν με ἐκ τῆς βίβλου σου: κάμὲ ἐξάλειψον ἐξ τῆς βίβλου C

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[1] See Index of scriptural passages infra p. 72.

[2] Within the text quotations of all three types have been put in quotation marks to facilitate reading.

Paraphrases cont.	2 Regn. 18.5	p. 42,15	μοι post Φείσασθέ om C
	Ps. 2.11b	p. 52,10	αὐτῷ: Κυρίου C
Variants	Ex. 32.32	p. 43,6s	μὲ: κάμὲ C
	2 Regn. 18.5	p. 42,15	τοῦ ante Ἀβεσσαλὼμ om C

	New Testament		NT: Chrysostomus (=C)
Exact Quotations	Io. 14.12a	p. 1,5s; p. 7,2s	
	2 Cor. 11.29	p. 42,19	
Paraphrases	Luc. 10.19	p. 9,19	Ἰδοὺ δέδωκα ὑμῖν τὴν ἐξουσίαν τοῦ πατεῖν ἐπάνω ὄφεων καὶ σκορπίων, καὶ ἐπὶ πᾶσαν τὴν δύναμιν τοῦ ἐχθροῦ: Εἰ γὰρ ἐπάνω ὄφεων καὶ σκορπίων καὶ πάσης τοῦ διαβόλου τῆς τυραννίδος πατεῖν ἡμῖν ἐπιτέτακται C
	Io. 1.11	p. 6,15s	οὐ παρέλαβον: οὐκ ἐδέξαντο C
	Act. Ap. 5.41	p. 42,16s	ἀπὸ προσώπου τοῦ συνεδρίου om C
	Act. Ap. 26.29	p. 45,3ss	πάντας τοὺς ἀκούοντάς μου σήμερον γενέσθαι τοιούτους ὁποῖος καὶ ἐγὼ εἰμι παρεκτὸς:

Paraphrases cont.			τοὺς περιεστῶτας πάντας γενέσθαι Χριστιανοὺς χωρὶς
	Rom. 9.3	p. 43,13s	γὰρ ἀνάθεμα εῖναι αὑτὸς ἐγὼ: ἀνάθεμα εῖναι C
	1 Cor. 10.31	p. 52,11s	οῦν om C
	Col. 1.24a	p. 45,9	Νῦν om C
	2 Cor. 13.7	p. 41,20ss	πρὸς τὸν θεὸν μὴ ποιῆσαι ὑμᾶς κακὸν μηδέν: μηδὲν κακὸν ποιῆσαι ὑμᾶς C
	Phil. 4.8	p. 32,3	ὅσα δίκαια ὅσα ἁγνὰ ὅσα προσφιλῆ ὅσα εὔφημα: ὅσα ἁγνὰ ὅσα δίκαια ὅσα εὔφημα C
Variants	Io. 8.34	p. 23,2	τῆς ἁμαρτίας om C
	Act. Ap. 26.29	p. 45,3ss	μεγάλω: πολλῷ C
	Rom. 9.3	p. 40,17	τῶν ante κατὰ add C
	Ephes. 6.12	p. 12,1ss	post σκότους add τοῦ αἰῶνος C
			μου post παθήμασι add C

There are thus five quotations from the New Testament which offer known variants. Of these two follow the Antiochene text of Lucian (Act. Ap. 26.29, Ephes. 6.12).[1] The rest offer variants from different sources: the reading of Io. 8.34 agrees with the Codex Bezae (s. v-vi); that of Rom. 9.3 with the Codex Claromontanus (s. vi), Basil the Great and Theodoret of Cyrus; while the version of Col. 1.24a agrees with the Codex Sinaiticus (s. iv).

Within this treatise Chrysostom makes not too copious use of the Old Testament in three ways. First are the verbal echoes of the Old Testament which occur sporadically.[2] Again, to reinforce the eloquence of his own narrative, he quotes lines from the Psalms and Ecclesiasticus.[3] Third and most striking is his use of Old Testament examples to illustrate or vindicate current events, practises and concepts. Thus the destruction of Sodom and Gomorrah is equated to the burning of the temple of Apollo,[4] and the scriptural account of the arc in the temple of Dagon is compared to the burning of Apollo's statue.[5] The martyr Babylas' goodwill for his royal captor is likened to Moses' faithful love of the Israelites and to David's affection for Absalom.[1] The plague sent by Moses against the Egyptians is given as a parallel to the divine signs warning Julian to desist from his attack on Christianity.[2] And the martyr-bishop's relics are contrasted, as part of the New Covenant, with the translation of Enoch and the ascension of Elijah in a fiery chariot.[3] Finally, in attempting to define παρρησία Chrysostom suggests that it is wholely unlike Schimei's bold words to David.[4]

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[1] On the Antiochene text cf. A. Souter, The Text and Canon of the New Testament (London, 1954), p. 120.

[2] P. 20,18 (1 Regn. 2.10); p. 20,17 (Jer. 14.17); p. 20,19 (Ps. 17.15, 143.6).

[3] P. 52,10 (Ps. 2.11b); p. 9,1 (Ps. 68.8-9); p. 26,4ss (Sir. 19.30); p. 37,16 (Sir. 4.22).

[4] P. 94,16ss (Gen. 19.24ss).

[5] P. 94,4s (1 Regn. 5.1-5).

There is one further occasion on which Chrysostom is concerned with the Old Testament. In discussing Apollo's alleged inability to prophesy because of the presence of corpses near his temple, he compares the activity of the Hebrew prophets, from both a historical and theological point of view. He states that they were active around 1000 B.C., and that some dwelt near pagan nations, others in the very midst of savage races. And he asserts that their prophecies were accurate because they spoke under the inspiration of God (ὑπὸ θείας ἐνεργούμενοι δυνάμεως).[5]

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[1] P. 43,6s (Ex. 32.32); p. 42,15 (2 Reg. 18,5).

[2] P. 97,4s (Ex. 7.19).

[3] P. 47,4 (Gen. 5.24); p. 47,5 (4 Regn. 2,11).

[4] P. 28,3 (2 Regn. 16,7).

[5] P. 64,14s.

In this treatise the New Testament is utilized more than the Old Testament. The greater part of the New Testament material falls in the first half of the work, where the early history of Babylas is narrated (n. 23-63), and may be analyzed under six headings. (1) Chrysostom verbally echoes nine passages, most of which are Pauline, including the famous verse which converted St. Augustine.[1] (2) This treatise also contains a few examples of New Testament exegesis. By contrasting the activity of pagan gods with that of Christ, he interprets John 1,11 in an original way: the former by their cruel sacrifices injured above all their devotees (ἴδιοι) whom they treated as ἀλλότριοι , while Christ was beneficient not only to His own (ἴδιοι) but also to his enemies (ἀλλότριοι).[2] He also provides an interesting exegesis of Acts 26.29.[3] (3) Again, he adopts Our Lord's saying that the sinner is the slave of sin, and adapts it to the paradox of an emperor-captor truly slave and a prisoner-martyr truly free.[4] (4) Significant is his use of the New Testament to illustrate the theme of this treatise, which is the power of Christ as the ultimate source of victory against paganism. At the beginning of the discourse, in order to enunciate his theme, he uses a verse taken from John's version of Christ's last talk to his disciples before His arrest, where He promises them the power to do greater works than He.[1] Later as further proof of the power that the Lord bequeathed to His followers, he cites Luke 10.19.[2] In addition, the Greek doctor uses excerpts from the New Testament to strengthen (a) the apologetic and (b) polemic elements in the work. (a) New Testament history is used to prove the truth of the Christian gospel, where the humble occupations of St. Paul and St. Peter, along with their undistinguished places of origin, are cited as proof of the improbability of their having invented so great a fiction as the Christian religion.[3] (b) Chrysostom stresses the inevitable nature of the conflict between Christianity and paganism by quoting St. Paul's words to the Ephesians.[4] He contrasts the sobriety of Christianity with the immoral abandon of pagan culture in phrases reminiscent of the great apostle.[5] (5) Further, he utilizes certain concepts and images which originated in New Testament writings. To Babylas in his conflict with the unnamed emperor he attributes the apostolic virtue of παρρησία (although contemporary pagan writers claimed this virtue as one of their own).[1] And the agon of the bishop's martyrdom is described in the subdued athletic imagery of the author of Revelation.[2] (6) Finally, he recalls events from New Testament history to illuminate the more recent happenings of his narration. The conflict between Babylas and the emperor is compared to that between John the Baptist and Herod; and Chrysostom concludes that the former struggle was the more dreadful.[3] The martyr's forbearance towards the emperor is likened to St. Paul's selfless words to the Corinthians.[4] While Julian's abuse of the temple guard is equated with the Jewish watch over Christ's tomb.[5]

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[1] Luc. 21.34 (p. 31,4ss); Io. 1.5 (p. 16,4s); Rom. 13.13, cf. Aug. Conf. 8,29 (p. 31,4ss); 1 Cor. 1.20 (p. 25,2s); 1 Cor. 3.19 (p. 25,2s); 1 Cor. 9.24-25 (p. 68,5ss); 1 Cor. 13.1 (p. 25,2s); 2 Cor., 6.14b (p. 16,4s); Gal. 5.21 (p. 50,19).

[2] P. 6,15s.

[3] P. 45,3ss.

[4] P. 23,2 (Io. 8.34).

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[1] Io. 14.12 (p. 1,5s; 6,12s).

[2] P. 9,19.

[3] P. 12,15s (Act. Ap. 18,3); p. 12,16 (Matt. 4.18); p. 14.5 (Act. Ap. 22.3); p. 14,4 (Io. 1.44).

[4] Ephes. 6.12 (p. 12,1ss).

[5] Phil. 4.8 (p. 32,3ss); 1 Cor. 10.31 (p. 31,4ss).

In general Chrysostom refers to New Testament times as part of ancient history, which we know only by hearsay, in contrast to contemporary events that we ourselves have witnessed.[6] The characters and events of the New Testament are paradeigmatic:

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[1] P. 25,17; cf. Libanius Or. 1,7 & 233.

[2] P. 46,17 (Apo. Io. 2.10b); cf. p. 30,15 (2 Tim. 4.8, Iac. 1.12).

[3] P. 41,2ss.

[4] 2 Cor. 11.29 (p. 42,19ss).

[5] P. 72,5ss.

[6] P. 16,8.

the story of Herod is an example of tyranny, while the apostolic virtues of παρρησία and εὐσπλαγχνία belong to Babylas and every earnest Christian.[1] But the power of Christ is continually at work creating signs and marvels no less wonderful than those of apostolic times.[2] In fact it is these contemporary miracles which enable us to believe in the truth of New Testament history, which we know only by hearsay.[3] Chrysostom is thus anxious to stress both the supreme value of the New Testament period and the unlessened activity of Christ's miraculous power in His saints and martyrs throughout history.

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[1] Cf. n. 35, nn. 58-60.

[2] Cf. nn. 92-93, 118-119.

[3] Cf. p. 55,2s.

DATE

The treatise De Sancto Babyla, contra Iulianum et Gentiles may be dated to the years A.D. 376-379; most probably to the year 377 or 378. This dating was arrived at in four steps, which are explained below.

1) The terminus post quem of the work is A.D. 379-380. For in the summer of 379 of of 380, Meletius, bishop of Antioch, began the construction of a cruciform church, designed as a martyrium for the relics of Babylas, near the city. This martyrium is to be distinguished from that built at Daphne, suburb of Antioch, in A.D. 351-354 by Gallus, Caesar of the East.[1] In 381 the relics of the martyr-bishop were removed from the cemetery outside the city, where they had been reburied in 362,[2] and buried in the newly constructed church (in that same year Meletius was also buried in the martyrium).[3] Now Chrysostom, in his discussion of the fate of Babylas' relics, does not mention this second, more recent martyrium; and appears not to have known of Meletius' intention to build it (cf. De S. Babyla p. 105,8ss); rather, he repeatedly asserts that the relics were, at the time of writing, at rest in the Christian cemetery outside the city of Antioch (De S. Babyla pp. 45,16s; 68,2; 69,2; 70,19ss; 73,5s; 74,7; 105,8ss).

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[1] Cf. De S. Babyla p. 48,19ss. [2] Cf. De S. Babyla p. 68,2.

[3] G. Downey, "The Shrines of St. Babylas at Antioch and Daphne," Antioch-on-the-Orontes 2 (Princeton, 1938), 47b.

2) The terminus ante quem of this treatise is A.D. 372. This date is concluded from Chrysostom's remark on p. 95,7, where he states that it is the twentieth year since the burning of Apollo's temple at Daphne. According to Ammianus Marcellinus (22,13,1ss), this conflagration occurred on October 22, 362. Thus Chrysostom would appear to be writing in the year 382. But he is clearly using a round figure;[1] and the context indicates that the number is exaggerated. Now, for Chrysostom to speak of approximately twenty years, the interval must have been at least more than ten years; and thus we arrive at a terminus ante quem of A.D. 372.

3) In addition, the facts of contemporary history favor a date between A.D. 372 and 378. For the religious tolerance granted to pagans by Valentinian I (364-75) and Valens (364-78)[2] might well have provoked this treatise which is directed against pagans. Further, in paragraph forty-three Chrysostom speaks of cities still practising pagan religious rites--a phenomenon much more likely under Valens than his successor Theodosius (379-95).

4) Finally, the date A.D. 376-379 is most in accord with the chronology of Chrysostom's life. A relative chronology of his life is given by Palladius, bishop of Helenopolis, in his Dialogus de vita S. Ioannis Chrysostomi (A.D. 408), from which may be deduced the following significant dates:

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[1] For similar use of round numbers by Chrysostom cf. De S. Babyla p. 64,6s, and G. Rauschen, Jahrbücher der Christ. Kirche (Freiburg-i.-B., 1897), p. 573.

[2] Cf. P. de Labriolle, "Christianisme et paganisme au milieu du iv^{e} siècle," in Fliche-Martin, Histoire de l'église (Paris, 1950), 3,192.

370-376/373-379	Chrysostom dwells near Antioch as a monk.
378/381	He is ordained deacon by Meletius.[1]

Now it is unlikely that Chrysostom wrote this treatise while a monk. The most suitable time for his authorship is the two-year interval between his retirement from the eremitical life and his assumption, as a deacon, of ecclesiastical duties, i.e., the years A.D. 376-379.

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[1] Cf. PG 67,18s; in our chronology the first figures or figure is the earliest possible date; the second figures or figure, the latest possible. We know that Chrysostom was ordained deacon by Meletius: this must have occurred between A.D. 378, when Meletius returned to the city from exile, and 381, when he left Antioch for the council at Constantinople, where he died. The dates 370/6 (373/9) correspond to the two extreme dates of Chrysostom's ordination to the diaconate. These six years of his eremitical life we have separated from his diaconate by an interval of two years, which we believe Palladius intended in his much-disputed words: Ἐντεῦθεν χειροτονεῖται διάκονος διὰ τοῦ Μελετίου, ὑπηρετήσας τῷ θυσιαστηρίῳ δύο πρὸς τοῖς τρισὶν ἔτεσιν.

AUTHENTICITY

The authenticity of De Sancto Babyla, contra Iulianum et Gentiles was assumed by Tillemont (1706),[1] Stilting (1753),[2] Rauschen (1897),[3] and Lietzmann (1916).[4]

Doubts as to the authenticity of the work were first raised, it appears, by hagiographers, because of both its literary form and historical content. Delehaye in 1912 (and again in 1921 and 1933)[5] questioned the traditional ascription to Chrysostom, and was followed in this by Peeters (1930)[6] and Downey, a historian, in 1938.[7]

The literary style of the treatise has also been criticized by Peeters (1931),[8] Meyer (1933),[9] and Downey (1961)[10] as unworthy of Chrysostom.

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[1] L. de Tillemont, Mémoires pour servir à l'histoire ecclésiastique (Paris, 1706), 11, 31.

[2] J. Stilting, "De S. Joanne Chrysostomo," ASS Sept. 4, 438.

[3] G. Rauschen, Jahrbücher der Christlichen Kirche (Freiburg-i.-B., 1897), p. 573.

[4] H. Lietzmann, "Johannes Chrysostomos," RE 9 (1916), 1814.

[5] H. Delehaye, Les origines du culte des martyrs (Brussels, 1912), p. 44, n. 2; second edition (1933), p. 36, n. 3; and Les passions des martyrs et les genres littéraires (Brussels, 1921), pp. 185, n.6 and 188, n. 3.

[6] P. Peeters, "La passion de S. Basile d'Epiphanie," AB 48 (1930), 314.

[7] G. Downey, "The Shrines of St. Babylas at Antioch and Daphne," Antioch-on-the-Orontes (Princeton, 1938), 2, 48.

[8] Peeters, p. 307.

[9] L. Meyer, Saint Jean Chrysostome (Paris, 1933), p. xxi.

[10] G. Downey, A History of Antioch in Syria (Princeton, 1961), p. 307.

Modern scholars are divided on the question of its authenticity. Baur accepts the work as genuine,[1] as do Quasten[2] and Aldama.[3] While Ehrhard[4] and Altaner[5] still doubt its ascription to Chrysostom, and Lampe in his Patristic Lexicon assigns the treatise to pseudo-Chrysostom.

The question of the authenticity of De Sancto Babyla, contra Iulianum et Gentiles has clearly suffered from confusion between the sciences of hagiography and patristics. The truly controversial rendition of Babylas' martyrdom contained in the treatise led hagiographers to doubt Chrysostom's authorship; and their doubts were accepted uncritically by students of patristics, despite the hitherto unchallenged ascription to Chrysostom. Thus our task is not one of apology for the authenticity of a doubtful work, but rather of refuting what we believe to be erroneous arguments against a genuine discourse.

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[1] C. Baur, John Chrysostom and His Time, tr. M. Gonzaga (Westminster, Maryland, 1958), 1,79.

[2] J. Quasten, Patrology (Westminster, Maryland, 1960), 3,467.

[3] J. Aldama, Repertorium pseudochrysostomicum (Paris, 1965).

[4] A. Ehrhard, Ueberlieferung und Bestand der hagiographischen und homiletischen Literatur der griechischen Kirche, TU 51,4.

[5] B. Altaner, Patrologie,[6] (Freiburg-i.-B., 1963), p. 293.

Delehaye doubted the authenticity of the work because of its literary form. The treatise resembled an encomium of a martyr; but was of greater scope than such a discourse. It did not precisely fit into any known genre of early Christian literature.[1] To answer this objection it is necessary to recall our discussion of the literary form and content of the treatise;[2] for the De S. Babyla is an apology, containing historical, panegyrical and polemic elements, which are combined to illustrate the apologetic theme with great artistry. Delehaye, as a hagiographer, naturally paid special attention to the history and encomium of the martyr-bishop Babylas contained within the work; and then was confused by the presence of what seemed to be extraneous elements in the treatise.

The historical content of the discourse has also led to doubt concerning the authenticity of the discourse. For Chrysostom's account of the martyrdom of Babylas (nn. 23-63 passim) differs significantly from other versions, which may be found in the Acta Sanctorum.[3] Thus Downey has written:[4] "The doubt concerning the authenticity of the discourse arises from the description which it contains of the martyrdom of Babylas." And Peeters has stated that:[5]

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[1] H. Delehaye, Les passions des martyrs et les genres littéraires (Brussels, 1921), p. 188.

[2] Cf. supra pp. 1, 7. The want of a literary analysis of the treatise led in part to Delehaye's misunderstanding.

[3] Acta Sanctorum (Antwerp, 1643ff.), IX Kal. Feb.~~, n.~~ 2, pp. 183-95.

[4] G. Downey, "The Shrines of St. Babylas at Antioch and Daphne," Antioch-on-the-Orontes (Princeton, 1938), 2, 48.

[5] Peeters, p. 314.

> Il est permis de croire que si cette pièce [une ancienne Passion de Babylas, plus détaillée en cet endroit, plus voisine de la tradition primitive, et dans laquelle le récit débutait par un commencement qui a disparu des Passions existantes] venait à reparaître, l'attribution du discours contre Julien à S. Jean Chrysostome n'en serait pas confirmée.

Chrysostom's version of the martyrdom is indeed controversial; but is that fact a valid reason for doubting the authenticity of the work? Chrysostom's authorship does not depend on the version he offers of Babylas' martyrdom.

Finally, the authenticity of the work has been doubted on the grounds of its literary style. In 1929 Baur wrote: "The Liber in S. Babylam contra Julianum et Gentiles is in style and language such a departure from the authentic works of Chrysostom that until now I have not ventured to place it among them."[1] Peeters (1930) described the treatise as "verbeuse et ampoulée."[2] Meyer believes that it betrays "une négligence de composition."[3] While Downey has recently written that the discourse "is so unlike his work in style that scholars do not attribute the work to him."[4]

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[1] C. Baur, John Chrysostom and His Time, tr. M. Gonzaga (Westminster, Maryland, 1959), 1, 179.

[2] Peeters, p. 307.

[3] Meyer, p. xxi.

[4] G. Downey, A History of Antioch in Syria (Princeton, 1961), p. 307.

It is impossible to refute fully these arguments against authenticity based on literary style. But we may notice that they are general rather than specific objections, which fail to take into consideration the genre in which the treatise is written and its early date. A youthful work, written probably eight years before Chrysostom was ordained a priest,[1] the discourse is an apology, a genre of Christian literature combining persuasion with accusation, which permitted Chrysostom to use his powers of vigorous eloquence, as yet undeveloped, to the fullest. From the literary style of this treatise emerges the tremendous power of a writer, who has not adequately mastered the technique of effective literary expression. Thought and feeling are expressed forcefully but inelegantly. There are many awkward sections in the discourse (e.g. pp. 5,8; 13,12; 23,15; 26,14; 27,5; 28,4; 29,6; 30,13; 43,1; 55,12; 60,7; 65,10), among which is a striking inconcinnity (p. 58,5). And the attempt to express too much in one sentence frequently leads to over-complex sentences (e.g. pp. 77,9; 85,1; 102,15). Parts of this treatise are thus written crudely. But if we deny this discourse to Chrysostom on the grounds of inelegance, we are refusing to believe that his literary powers progressively improved; and that his gift of eloquence was with time perfected. If we deny this treatise to him, we shall deny ourselves the interest of an early product of Chrysostom's eloquence, which enables us to estimate more exactly his entire literary development.[2]

Thus the three arguments against its authenticity, which originated with the hagiographers Delehaye and Peeters, arose from the treatise's unusual form and narrative content and the powerful but unpolished style in which it is written; and are not sufficient to cast doubt on the traditional ascription of the discourse to Chrysostom.

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[1] Cf. supra p. 32.

[2] Cf. infra pp. 73f.

OUTLINE

I Introduction (1-21)

A Scriptural text enunciating theme of the treatise: Christ gives His disciples the power to do miracles (1).

1 No pagan teacher ever made such a statement because it would have been palpably false (2).

a But the pagan teachers and gods did have power over men before the coming of Christ. Yet even then it was clear that their power was evil, because of the nature of the worship which they required, demanding that parents sacrifice their children (3). Even if they had been able to work great miracles, their corrupt and wicked natures would be apparent to men from their delight in human sacrifice (6).

b Our Lord, on the contrary, worked His marvels with benevolence towards His followers. Such was His love of humanity that His coming ended these depraved rituals for pagans as well as Christians (7):

2 It is only because of His exceeding goodness that He issued such powers to His disciples (8).

B The extent of these powers is shown by the miraculous acts of the apostles: their very garments were able to heal the sick (9).

1 Proof of the veracity of the account in Acts is afforded by the insignificance into which false teachers like Zoroaster and Zamolxis have fallen: they have acquired no following because their doctrines contain no truth (10).

C Truth survives against all opposition (11). In addition to possessing truth, Christianity possesses power from Christ superior to that of the demons (12).

D Thus Hellenism was extirpated not by brute force (13) but by the power of Christ (15).

1 From its inception Christianity was opposed to all other earthly and spiritual powers (15).

2 The reason for victory was not the Gospel or the signs but the power of Christ (16).

E Yet there still may be some who disbelieve: to them I proffer this argument. What could have led the apostles to invent such a fiction (17)? But let us asssume that someone did make it up. Who would have believed it (20)? But this is Hellenic nonsense; nothing can refute the truth (21).

II Transition to main body of the treatise (22)

A The marvels of ancient times are no less believable than those of modern times; and to win a great victory of my thesis I shall give an example of a modern marvel.

B This marvel may be divided into two parts:

1 The beginning, which lies in ancient history,

2 And the end, which is part of modern history.

III The ancient history of Babylas (23-63)

- A The story of a Roman emperor's wanton slaying of a boy entrusted to him as a hostage (23-27):
    - 1 There was a Roman emperor in the time of our ancestors, who made peace with a certain nation (23). He accepted as hostage from them a young prince, but afterwards, violating the law of guest-friendship, murdered him (24).
    - 2 The murder of the boy is dramatically described, so as to arouse the reader's indignation (25, 26).
    - 3 The emperor's crimes, however, did not stop here; and he next attacked the church.
- B A discussion of crime and punishment (28, 29)
    - 1 An imaginary auditor asks why the emperor was not punished immediately;
    - 2 And Chrysostom replies that God's law demands a lapse of time in which the sinner may repent.
- C Babylas' expulsion of the emperor from the church vestibule (30-53)
    - 1 The event:
        - a Babylas expels the emperor from the church vestibule (30).
        - b The scriptural basis of the bishop's act (31).
        - c Dramatic representation of the expulsion (32, 33).
    - 2 The positive results of the event:
        - a Babylas displayed the apostolic virtue of παρρησια
            - i The source of Babylas' courage (34)
            - ii The nature of παρρησια (35)
            - iii Babylas' moderation in his bold act (36-38).

iv The analogy of a doctor (39).

b He influenced the pagan world:

i In regard to religious practises:

α He confronted pagan αἰσχύνη with Christian εὐγένεια (40)

β He revealed that pagan religion was a political phenomenon, supported by the pagan emperors and failing when the imperial house became Christian (41);

γ while Christianity not only did not require imperial support, but thrived under official opposition (42).

δ Chrysostom adds as an afterthought that if any idolatry still survives, the cause is the revelry and wanton pleasure associated with idol-worship. Such lavish expenditures may indeed provide for the poor by making them sycophants (43),

ε but Christian charity is more nobly directed at self-improvement of the needy (44).

ii He demolished the vainglory of pagan philosophers and magicians (45).

iii He showed the emptiness of pagan παρρησια (46-47),

iv and pagan ἐγκράτεια (48, 49).

v Resume of his influence on the pagan world (50).

c He placed the dignity of the priesthood above the highest secular power (51).

d He gave an example of selfless fulfillment of duty (52).

e Transition to the next section (53).

D Babylas' arrest (54-56):

1 Imprisonment of Babylas (54).

2 Examples of mental and physical disease to explain the moral disorder of the emperor (55).

3 Comparison of Babylas' martyrdom with that of John the Baptist (56).

E Martyrdom of Babylas (57-62):

1 Babylas exhibits the Christian virtue of εὐσπλαγχνία towards his captor (57).

a Explanation of εὐσπλαγχνία from Biblical examples (58-60).

2 Περιπέτεια of the tragedy of Babylas (61, 62).

3 Babylas asks his chains to be buried with him (63).

IV Transition to the modern history of Babylas (64-66):

A Babylas' death is not the end of our discourse; for death is truly the beginning of Christian life, as the miracles associated with Babylas' relics will demonstrate (64).

1 For the soul of the bishop went to heaven, while his body, received by the earth, became a "relic." Now the power of relics is twofold: their history inspires the hearer, and their appearance affects the spectator (65).

a Proof of this latter power is afforded by the effect of tombs on people in mourning (66).

V The modern history of Babylas (67-127):

A Gallus, by divine inspiration, transferred the relics of Babylas to Daphne, in order to curb the license associated with the luxurious suburb of Antioch (67).

1 Digression: description of Daphne (68, 69).

2 Effects of Gallus' move:

a Sobriety replaces wanton revelry at Daphne (70-72).

b The oracle of Apollo at Daphne is silenced (73-75).

α At first people attributed its silence to the anger of the god at no longer receiving sacrifices [since the imperial house became Christian] ,

β but the true cause of the oracle's silence was inadvertently revealed by Julian (76-113):

Julian became emperor (76-79), and requested an oracle from Apollo at Daphne (80-86). When informed that the oracle had been silenced by the presence of corpses, Julian removed the casket of Babylas back to the city (87-91). Only fear prevented him from destroying the relics altogether (91). Shortly thereafter, the power of the relics caused the temple of Apollo to partially burn down. (92-97).

γ Proof of my narrative is afforded by the lament written by the sophist of Antioch on the occasion of the burning of the temple. (Chrysostom then proceeds to quote sections of the lament, and ridicule them.) (98-113).

ε There remain two questions to be answered (114-126):

α Why was only part of the temple destroyed?

The answer is God's providence, which contrived a lasting monument to warn men against idolatry (114,115). There are parallels in the Old Testament (116). A rhetorical summary concludes the answer (117).

β Why did God punish Apollo and spare Julian?

The answer is that God was trying to warn Julian; the destruction of the temple was, in fact, only one of many warnings (118-119). But Julian did not desist from his impiety. Fearing as yet open war against the Christians, he invited back the heretics into the orthodox church (120). After his contemplated Persian expedition might be accomplished, he intended to extirpate the hated sect.(121). But he perished miserably on the Persian campaign (122, 123). Thus God tried to warn Julian by first attacking Apollo;

and when Julian rejected this and other warnings, God finally punished him all the more severely (124).

γ Someone may object that God should have foreseen that Julian would be intransigeant. God indeed foresaw; but His foreknowledge did not prevent the operation of His ineffable love, that "will have all men to be saved," in the case of Julian (125).

δ Resume of the two questions and answers (126)

VI Resume of the whole (127).

LIBANIUS' ORATION LX

Paragraphs ninety-eight through one hundred and thirteen (98-113) of the De Sancto Babyla, contra Iulianum et Gentiles are of special interest because they contain a discussion of Libanius' sixtieth oration (Or. LX [IV, 311-321, ed. Foerster]), a lost work of Libanius,[1] referred to by Julian in Ep. 98, 400b-c (ed. Bidez). Chrysostom's discussion of the work contains quotations and paraphrases, from which the oration may be partially reconstructed.[2]

After narrating the conflagration of Apollo's temple at Daphne (nn. 76-97), Chrysostom proceeds to discuss Libanius' oration. He claims to offer τὰ ῥήματα τῆς μονῳδίας ἣν εἰς τὸν δαίμονα τοῦτον ὁ τῆς πόλεως εἰργάσατο σοφιστής.[3] This monody may be identified with the λόγος ἐπὶ τῇ Δάφνῃ or μονῳδία ἐπὶ Δάφνῃ mentioned as a brilliant work of the sophist Libanius by Julian in the spring of A.D. 363 (*Ep*. 98,400b [ed. Bidez]). Thus we may conclude that Libanius wrote a lement upon the partially destroyed temple of Apollo at Daphne sometime between the conflagration (Oct. 22, 362 [Amm. Marc. 22,13,1ss]) and the spring of A.D. 363.

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[1] Cf. Foerster, Libanii opera, 4, 298: "[haec oratio] aut ab initio non in corpus orationum recepta aut mox ex eo remota."

[2] Cf. ibid., p. 299: "Itaque ex hoc [De S. Babyla] non solum tenor orationis quantum fieri potest restaurandus sed etiam verba ipsa constituenda sunt, cui rei neque Morellus neque Reiskius operam impenderunt (Morellus sane orationem Chrysostomi inspexit, sed rem non perspexit, Reiskius vero, si eam revera inspexisset, non in ambiguo reliquisset, ut reliquit scribens Anim. V 115: 'aut non habemus integram hanc monodiam, et sane e Chrysostomo solummodo excerpta est, qui non videtur totam retulisse, aut, ut in affectu luctus contingit, auctor conturbatius effundit animi sui sensa, sine rerum ordine et vinculis verborum ab alio argumento ad aliud transsiliens.')"

[3] De S. Babyla p. 74,12ss. Chrysostom also refers to the oration as a θρῆνος on pp. 82,4; 89,4; 91,14).

Chrysostom states directly or indirectly three reasons for including this discussion of Libanius' monody in his treatise. First, the monody furnished proof of his narrative and his theses; proof all the more convincing because it came from the camp of the adversary (*De S. Babyla* pp. 7,19ss; 8,16ss; 9,6ss; 74,12s). Second, it provided material, not neglected by Chrysostom, for ridiculing pagan eloquence (ibid., p. 13,12 and nn. 99, 104, 111). Third and most significant is that his use of Libanius' monody vividly illustrated his statement, made in the beginning of the treatise, that Christians, far from fearing the polemic directed against them by pagan philosophers and orators, have actually preserved them, when they have long been forgotten by the pagans themselves (ibid., p. 9,15s). Perhaps Chrysostom was thinking of Origen's work against Celsus, which contained many quotations from the neo-Platonist's *True Discourse*. But in any case his words apply also to his own treatise, which preserves parts of Libanius' monody.

In order to reconstruct the original form of the monody, it is necessary to examine more closely Chrysostom's discussion in paragraphs ninety-eight through one hundred and thirteen. Chrysostom states that he will only offer a small part of the lament for want of space (pp. 75,5s; 91,14). His technique is first to quote a passage from the lament, and then to comment upon the quotation. This commentary consists of paraphrase and parody of the quotation, ridicule of the ideas expressed and explanation of the actual situation. His discussion of the monody may thus be outlined as follows:

n. 98	frgs. 1,3,4,5
nn. 99-103	commentary
n. 104	frg. 6 and commentary
n. 105	frgs. 7,8,9,10
(n. 106	frg. 2 and commentary on frg. 2)
nn. 107-111	commentary on frgs. 7-10
n. 112	frgs. 11,12,13,14
n. 113	commentary

Using the quotations and paraphrases it is possible to outline the original structure of the monody:

I Ἡ τῶν θρήνων ἀρχή (p.74,14 s): frg. 1.

II Εἶτα εἰπών τινα περὶ τοῦ μύθου τῆς Δάφνης καὶ διαλεχθείς (p.75,4): pp. 49,15 - 50,15.

III Λέγει ὅτι ὁ Περσῶν βασιλεύς ποτε ὁ τὴν πόλιν ἑλὼν ἐφείσατο τοῦ νεώ (p. 75,6s): p. 84,9-12, frgs.2,3.

IV Εἶτα δεικνὺς ὅτι αὐτοῦ τότε ἐκράτησεν ὁ μακάριος ὅτε μάλιστα ἤνθει τὰ τῶν Ἑλλήνων θυσίαις καὶ τελεταῖς φησί (p. 75,14s): frgs. 4,5, p. 78,7s.

V Ἀφεὶς γὰρ τὸν Ἀπόλλω πρὸς τὸν Δία πάλιν ὀλοφύρεται λέγων (p. 80,14s): frg. 6.

VI Πάλιν ἐπὶ τὸν θρῆνον ἐλεύσομαι δεικνὺς ὅσην ἅπαντες οἱ τότε τὴν πόλιν οἰκοῦντες Ἕλληνες ἐδέξαντο τὴν πληγὴν καὶ ὡς οὐκ ἂν τοῦτο πράως ἤνεγκεν ὁ βασιλεὺς ἀλλὰ πάντα θυμὸν εἰς τὴν τοῦ μάρτυρος λάρνακα ἀφῆκεν ἂν εἰ μὴ φόβῳ κατείχετο μείζονι (p. 82, 3ss): frgs. 7,8,9 (cf. pp. 88,15s and 60,15; 66,5ss),10, p. 92,10.

VII Ἐπακούσωμεν δὲ καὶ τῶν λοιπῶν τοῦ θρήνου ῥημάτων (οὕτω γὰρ τὸ πένθος εἰσόμεθα καλῶς ὃ κατέσχεν αὐτῶν τὰς ψυχάς) (p. 89,4s): frgs. 11,12,13

VIII Εἶτα πρὸς τῷ τέλει φησί (p. 91,6): frg. 14.

Thus the monody consisted of an expression of grief for the afflicted city (I). . .the story of the nymph Daphne and Apollo (II). . .narrative of the sparing of Apollo's temple by the fierce Persian invader, who was moved to pity by the beautiful statue of the god (III). Libanius then questions why, after enduring the reigns of the impious Constantine and his sons, Apollo deserted his temple under the pious reign of the pagan Julian (IV). Then Zeus is invoked to lament the destruction (V). Next Libanius describes the bitter grief of the inhabitants of Daphne and Antioch at their loss (VI). He then describes the beautiful statue which was burnt, and recalls how all the gods wept at the destruction along with the mortal inhabitants of Antioch (VII). He closes with a request for vengeance from Apollo to requite their great grief (VIII).

The text of Libanius' monody differs from the previous text of Foerster[1] in two ways. We have included as part of the monody

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[1] Libanii opera (Leipzig, Teubner: 1908), 4,311-321.

Chrysostom's account of Apollo and Daphne (pp. 49,15-50,15). This is justified by Chrysostom's statement, that the monody included the narrative of Apollo and the nymph (p. 75,4); and because the only other literary source for the myth is found in the works of Libanius (Narr. 17 [8,44s, ed. Foerster]). J. Reiskius in his Animadversiones also believed that Chrysostom's words were part of Libanius' monody.[1] As regards the remaining fragments, the text differs from Foerster's previous edition at eighteen places:

	Foerster	This edition
f. 1	καλὴν μήτε μεγάλην ἔτι	καλὴν ἔτι μήτε μεγάλην
f. 5	βοῦς	βόας
	στόμα βασιλέως	στόμα βασιλέως ὅσιον
f. 6	τὰς [τῶν]	τὰς
f. 7	δράσομεν	δράσωμεν
	καταδυσόμεθα	καταλυσώμεθα
f. 8	τοῖς δὲ	τῇ δὲ
	πετόμενος	φερόμενος
f. 9	κιθάραν	κίδαριν
	ταῦτα Λυδῶν ποτε	ταῦτα ποτε Λυδῶν
f. 10	ποτε	πρῶτον
f. 2	Δάφνην	Δάφνης
	τῷ 'Απόλλωνι	τὸν 'Απόλλω
f. 11	λίθῳ	λίθῳ καὶ ταῦτα
	αὐτοῦ καὶ	καὶ

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[1] J. Reiskius, Animadversiones (Leipzig, 1766), 4,1102.

	Foerster	This edition
f. 12	δὲ φίλη	ἐφ' ὕλῃ
	τῶν ἀνδρῶν ὅμιλος	ὅμιλος
	πέριειστήκεσαν	ἐν ᾗ περιεστήκεσαν
	ὀλοφυρόμενοι μέν	ὀλοφυρόμενοι
f. 13	χοροποιοῦ	χαροποιοῦ

In addition, we have posited the existence of a lacuna in fragment twelve between the words ὅμιλος and ἐν ᾗ.[1]

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[1] Cf. infra p. 56.

MANUSCRIPTS: IDENTIFICATION

B	Basel, Bibl. univ., gr. 37 (B.II.15) (s. ix-x), parchment, ff. 409-438^{v}; text in its entirety, no doxology.
D	Athens, Benaki Museum, Fonds ancien 10 (s. xi), parchment, ff. 236^{v}-236^{v}; illegible after p. 65,17s (PG 557,30) μόνον.
A	Athens, Bibl. nat. 2806 (s. xi), parchment, ff. 188-226; no doxology. Pp. 56,16 (PG 553,14) [λὰ through 59,4 (PG 555,17) πρὸς are omitted, and the following pages are confused: after p. 56,16 [λὰ come pp. 70,6 (PG 559,10) ἄπριξ through 73,1 (PG 560,7) μὲν and then pp. 59,4 (PG 555,17) μὲν τοὺς through 70,6 (PG 559,10) ἀλλὰ.
P	Paris, Bibl. nat., gr. 759 (=Montfaucon's Regius 2343) (s. xi), parchment, ff. 7^{v}-38; illegible after p. 33,16 (PG 545,51) ἐκάθητο.
C	Paris, Bibl. nat., gr. 801 (=Montfaucon's Colbertinus 974) (s. xi), parchment, ff. 191^{v}-233; complete text, no doxology.
O	Paris, Bibl. nat., gr. 968 (s. xi), parchment, ff. 267-322; complete text, with doxology.
V	Rome, Bibl. Vat., Vat. gr. 1628 (s. xi), parchment, ff. 6^{v}-40^{v};

entire text with short doxology.

S Sinai, Bibl. monast. gr., 1607 (an. 1431), paper, ff. 51^v -78^v; complete text and doxology.

E Madrid, Escurial, Ψ -IV-8 (478), (s. xv), paper, ff. 1-100^v; complete text and doxology.

L Rome, Bibl. Vallicelliana 87 (s. xv), paper, ff. 434-487^v; complete text and doxology.

M Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, gr. 31 (an. 1546), paper, ff. 246-280; complete text and doxology.

H Oxford, Holkham gr. 25 (s. xvi), paper, ff. 316-335; complete text and doxology.

G Rome, Bibl. Vat., Vat. gr. 561 (olim 785) (s. xvi med.), paper, ff. 70-102; copied by Συρόπουλος Φραγκῖστος (Vogel-Gardt, *Die griechischen Schreiber des Mittelalters und der Renaissance* [Leipzig, 1909] n. 424). Pp. 90,3 (PG 565,25) ἐκυκᾶτο through 93,7 (PG 566,33) ἀφιστάμενος are inserted after p. 99,6 apparatus (PG 68, 40) γὰρ ἤδει . With a doxology.

R Rome, Bibl. Vat., gr. Ottobonianus 350 (s. xvi), paper ff. 151-220^{r}; omits pp. 90,3 (PG 565,25) αὐγῆς through 93,8 (PG 566,33) τόπῳ and p. 104,14 (PG 570,27) ἐροῦμεν to the end.

W Vienna, Nationalbibl., Vindob. phil. gr. 166 (s. xvi), paper; a fragment of little value; through p. 12,22 (PG 538,20) οὕ[τως]

v text of Migne

MANUSCRIPTS: CLASSIFICATION

THE ARCHETYPE (Ω)

The archetype of the extant manuscripts of *De Sancto Babyla, contra Iulianum et Gentiles* contained three interpolations and one lacuna.

The three interpolations occur on;

1) p. 69,3 (PG 58,56) Μαξιμῖνος οὗτος ἦν,

2) p. 73,8s (PG 50, 16-17) τὸ μαρτύριον ἑκάτερον τό τε ἐν τῇ Δάφνῃ τό τε ἐν τῇ πόλει

3) p. 38,11s (PG 547,40) τοιαύτη γὰρ ἡ τοῦ διαβόλου μανία τὰ ἐναντία κατασκευάζειν .

The first is the identification of a persecutor of Christians, whose fate is described by Chrysostom. We believe this is an interpolation, because Chrysostom regularly in this treatise avoids mentioning the names of historical personnages (cf. *De. S. Babyla* pp. 48,19ss; 57,5ss; 74,14). The second phrase is ill-fitted into its sentence and contradicts Chrysostom's numerous assertions throughout the discourse, that he knew of only one martyrium of Babylas, that built by Gallus at Daphne (cf. *De S. Babyla* pp. 45,16s; 68,2; 69,2; 70,19ss; 73,5s & 8s; 74,7; 105,8ss). The third is again awkwardly inserted in the context, where it has no intelligible meaning: the words are in fact a paraphrase of Chrysostom's meaningful statement at pp. 81,20ss (PG 562,58) and 84,7s (PG 563,37).

The lacuna in the archetype is found within a quotation from Libanius' Monody between the words ὅμιλος and ἐν ᾗ (p. 90,15 [PG 565,38]). The editor of the corrected edition[1] recognized the difficulty of the text at this point, but, not perceiving a lacuna, replaced ἐν ᾗ with ὁμοῦ ; and manuscripts OEL added ἀνδρῶν before ὅμιλος in an attempt to clarify the text of the corrected edition. From Chrysostom's paraphrase of the quotation at p. 92,1 (PG 566,2s), we have filled in the lacuna with the words: ⟨τῶν τὴν Δάφνην οἰκούντων καὶ τῶν προσκειμένων αὐτοῖς συνέδραμεν εἰς τὴν ὕλην⟩.

DOXOLOGICAL AND NON-DOXOLOGICAL TRADITIONS

An examination of textual variants indicates two branches of textual transmission, which are apparently not dependant upon one another, but independently related to the archetype. These branches coincide with the classification of manuscripts according to the presence of a doxology, and therefore will be referred to as the non-doxological (BPDACW) and doxological (V [H] OELSMG [R])[2] traditions.

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[1] See infra p. 57ss.

[2] "H" contains no doxology, but its text is that of the doxological tradition. The text of "R" also follows the doxological tradition, although it is impossible to determine whether this manuscript concluded with a doxology, since it breaks off shortly before the end of the discourse.

The doxological tradition itself contains two branches, which correspond to the classification of doxological manuscripts according to short (V [H]) or long doxology (OELSMG [R]). The non-doxological tradition also consists of two branches (BDACW and P): this division is proved by a reading at p. 30,2s (PG 544,35), where BDAC have σωτήριον , a corruption; while P offers the correct σωρείαν.[1]

That the doxological and non-doxological families are independent of one another, is proved by a reading at p. 41,13s (PG 548, 48), where the doxological manuscripts omit the phrase ταύτην τὴν ἱστορίαν ἔπλεξεν ὁ πονηρός. Further, there is no extant manuscript which could serve as a link between the doxological and non-doxological traditions, although P (in the non-doxological tradition) and V (in the doxological family) both are contaminated with readings from the opposite families. Proof that P is a contaminated manuscript of the non-doxological family, rather than an independent link between the doxological and non-doxological families, lies in its agreement with a substantive variant in the non-doxological family (p. 19,6 [PG 540,36] ἀποσφαχθέν).

THE CORRECTED EDITION .

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[1] "W" is a fragment whose text is hopelessly conflated: it contains readings from both the non-doxological and doxological families, in addition to small but numerous independent omissions. But the basic fabric of the text is closest to that of BDAC.

Though independently related to the archetype, the text of the doxological family was evidently corrected by a Byzantine editor. The terminus post quem for this corrected edition is the eleventh century, i.e., the century when our earliest "corrected" manuscripts were written. Thus many of the significant variants in the doxological family are not true variants, but later corrections. The nature of these corrections will reveal the aims, literary, historical or theological, of the Byzantine scholar; and therefore we append below a classified list of these corrections.

I Grammar

A Morphology

ἐδεδίεσαν VH OELSMGR (p. 4,15)
εὐξαίμην V OELSMG (p. 45,3)
Ἀπόλλωνα VH OELSMGR (p. 50,1)

B Syntax

μὴ ante φωραθῆναι add OELSMR (p. 2,15ss)

post μὴ add θαυμάσης VH OELSMR (p. 5,8)

τοῖς ἐχθροῖς [PW] VH OELMR (p. 6,3)

ante Ὅτι add ἆρ' οὐκ VH OELSMGR (p. 8,5)

λαβεῖν VH OELSMGR (p. 9,4)

μὴ ante διαβῆναι add H OELSMGR (p. 22,17)

ἐκβάλωσι. . .ῥίψωσι. . .γίνονται VH OELSMGR (p. 40,4s)

ἑαλωκότες VH (p. 58,6)
ἁλόντες OELSMGR (p. 58,6)

τῷ Ἀπόλλωνι VH OELSMGR (p. 84,18)

post εἶναι add ἐδόκει VH OELSMGR (p. 100,9)

II Literary style

post καὶ add ὅμως VH OELSR (p. 9,1)
ἑτέρου post βλάπτοντος add VH OLMGR (p. 10,17)
ἔφθην εἰπὼν OELSGR (p. 12,8)
post ἐπεδείξατο add φησι VH OELSMGR (p. 33,4)
εἶπεν ὁ Παῦλος OEL (p. 45,3)
ὁ Παῦλος εἶπεν VH SMGR (p. 45,3)
φησι ante χαίροντες add VH OELSMGR (p. 45,12)
οὐχ VH OELSMGR (p. 53,7)
ἐπὶ τοὺς νεκροὺς καταφεύγει VH OELSMGR (p. 65,4)
καταλύσεις VH OELSGR (p. 66,8)
post δαίμων add ἐκεῖνος VH OELSGR (p. 67,19)
φησιν om VH OELSMGR (p. 77,12)
ἐκφέρουσιν VH OELGR (p. 82,2)
εἰσπράξασθαι VH OELSMGR (p. 88,8)
ὧν. . .ἀφῆκεν post Κῦρος add VH OELSMG (p. 88,18)
βασιλέα VH OELSG (p. 92,14)

III Difficult, obscure words replaced ; ambiguities clarified

γίνεται vice ἄνεισι VH OLSMGR (p. 8,15)
post ὀνόματος add αὐτοῦ VH OELSMG (p. 45,12)
συνεισερχομένου VH OLSGR (p. 47,15)
πόλιν vice οἰκουμένην VH OELSMGR (p. 51,6)
δεσμῶν vice δεινῶν OELSMGR (p. 51,11)
τροφὴν VH OLSMGR (p. 52,12)
αὐλίῳ vice ἀλείᾳ VH OLSMGR (p. 53,5)
μεταθέντος vice ἀναγαγόντος VH OELSMGR (p. 57,2)

ἀθρόως vice ἐξαίφνης VH OELSMGR (p. 58,8)
μᾶλλον vice μόνον VH OELSMGR (p. 59,11)
ἐρεῖν vice ἀναιρεῖν VH OELSMG (p. 60,13)
μιαροὶ καὶ παμμίαροι VH OELSMGR (p. 61,14)
ἐκκέκαυται VH OELSMGR (p. 71,12)
θυσίας vice στολὰς OELSMG (p. 91,10)
δύναμιν vice ἰσχὺν VH OELSMR (p. 93,10)
ἥλιον VH OELSMGR (p. 97,15)
ἀπολογίαν vice ἀναχώρησιν VH OELSMGR (p. 98,5)

IV Biblical paraphrases replaced with exact quotations:

pp. 6,16; 45,3.

V Polemic additions:

A Add ὦ ληρόσοφε (p. 77,13)[1]

B Add Ἤδει γὰρ ᾔδει σαφῶς ὅτι τοῦτο τολμήσαντος αὐτοῦ πάντες ἂν ὑπὲρ τοῦ Χριστοῦ τὰς ἑαυτῶν προύδωκαν ψυχάς (p.99,6).

VI Didactic addition (p. 38,16).

VII Theological correction (p. 87,6s).

THE NON-DOXOLOGICAL TRADITION

The non-doxological tradition consists of manuscripts BDACW and P. "W" is a fragment and contains about one eighth of the text; manuscripts "D" and "P" are in poor condition, and are legible only in the first half of the text.

The non-doxological family is divided, as stated above, into two branches: BDAC [W] and P. That BDAC and P are of the same family is shown by common readings at p. 8,5 (PG 536,31) ἄρ' οὐκ om; p. 9,4 (PG 536,52) ἔλαβον ; and p. 19,6 (PG 540,35) ἀποσφαχθέν.

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[1] Cf. ληρολόγοι σοφισταί (Irenaeus, Adversus haereses 1, 5, 3 [ed. Harvey]).

That P is a separate branch is shown by its reading of σωρείαν at p. 30,2s, where BDAC have the corrupt σωτήριον . Further, BDAC read differently from P at p. 1,1 (PG 533,22) ὁ Χριστός; p. 15,4 (PG 539,5) ἐκείνων τῶν χρόνων ; p. 21,1 (PG 541,8) αὐτῶν ; p. 23,13 (PG 542,50) ἐξέβαλλε . Within the branch BDAC, the group BAC are related, as the following readings show:

p. 14,14 (PG 538,35) ἀπάξασθαι
p. 20,1 (PG 540, 48) μὴ ἀμῦναι
p. 22,7 (PG 541,34) ὅτι om
p. 27,2 (PG 543,40) πολλοῖς

While the manuscripts AC are closely linked by variants and errors:

p. 2,7 (PG 533,39) παρ' αὐτῶν
p. 3,9 (PG 534,32) ἐλθεῖν
p. 8,3 (PG 536,30) Ζαμόλαξιν (error)
p. 13,16 (PG 538,39) μεγαλοφρονεῖν
p. 14,1 (PG 538,40) οὕτως ἦν om (error)
p. 21,5 (PG 541,13) ἰδεῖν
p. 27,12 (PG 543,27) σώματι

Finally, B and D offer common readings against AC:

p. 5,7s (PG 535,25) ταῦτα· κἂν εἰ
p. 14,7 (PG 538,47) οὕτως
p. 38,3 (PG 547,29) τι om
p. 61,4 (PG 555,53) αὐτοῦ

In general the text of the non-doxological family is closer to the archetype than that of the doxological tradition. Among the superior readings of BDAC are:

p. 1,1 (PG 533,22) ὁ Χριστός
p. 15,4 (PG 539,5s) ἐκείνων τῶν χρόνων
p. 20,1 (PG 541,8) αὐτῶν
p. 25,13 (PG 542,50) ἐξέβαλλε
p. 28,19 (PG 544,5) τίθησιν
p. 31,19 (PG 545,9) ἀρκεῖν
p. 35,5 (PG 546,26) ἦν om
p. 50,19 (PG 552,11) εἰς om
p. 52,12s (PG 552,48) τρυφήν
p. 61,2 (PG 555,52) δύναμαι
p. 61,14 (PG 556,5) μιαρὲ καὶ παμμίαρε

These readings have been incorporated into our text. But the group BDAC is not without its deficiencies; it offers two errors and two corruptions:

Errors: p. 44,15 (PG 550,5) γίνωνται
p. 65,4 (PG 557,14) μὴ om
Corruptions: p. 30,2s (PG 544,35) σωτήριον
p. 82,15 (PG 563,12s) καὶ χοίνικα

Finally, there are a few occasions on which manuscripts B and AC alone seem to offer the correct reading. B is the unique source of four readings adopted in our text:

p. 13,10 (PG 538,35) ἐξεπῆρεν
p. 17,9 (PG 539,53) αὐτούς τε ἐτέροις
p. 71,5 (PG 559, 43) πρόπυλα
p. 103,6 (PG 569,63) χωρίου

While AC alone offer μεγαλοφρονεῖν at pp. 13,16 (PG 538,39) and 33,11 (PG 545,45s); in addition to a number of substantive variants included in the apparatus (cf. pp. 27,12 [PG 543,29]; 31,12 [PG 545,3]).

THE DOXOLOGICAL TRADITION

The entire doxological family descends from the corrected edition, which is the source of many of its variant readings.[1] But the doxological family also offers independent variants, which did not originate in the corrected edition. One of these has been incorporated in our text (p. 2,2 [PG 533,33] παῖδες); but the remainder are insignificant:

p. 10,19 (PG 537,33) γέλως ἐξήλειπται
p. 56,19 (PG 554,31) ταῦτα (praeter M)
p. 59,5 (PG 555,19) τὰ τοιαῦτα

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[1] Cf. supra p. 57ss.

The doxological family has been divided into two branches according to the presence of a short (V [H]) or long doxology (OELSMG [R]). The branch consisting of manuscripts VH is of importance. It is contaminated with readings from the non-doxological family:

p. 3,5 (PG 534,27s) οἴκαδε ante ἀπῆλθε
p. 5,5 (PG 535,19) αὐτοῖς οὐδὲν
p. 11,8 (PG 537,42) καὶ γραιδίων V tantum
p. 12,19 (PG 538,18) ἔτι νῦν V tantum
p. 90,13 (PG 565,38) ἐν ᾧ
p. 91,4 (PG 565,46) χαροποιοῦ V tantum

Further, it preserves several superior readings which have been utilized in our text:

p. 2,9 (PG 533,41) διισχυρίσαιτό
p. 13,10 (PG 538,33) δαί
p. 28,4 (PG 543,46) ἔγωγε
p. 46,10 (PG 567,43) τέως add

Finally, manuscript V by itself contains two variants which we believe to be correct and have placed within the text:

p. 23,11s (PG 542,1) τάς. . .ψυχάς
p. 27,3 (PG 543,17) ἀλόγιστον add

In contrast the branch OELSMGR offers no readings of importance. It may be divided into three groups: OEL, SM and GR. The group OEL offers numerous common variants:

p. 3,11 (PG 534,7) πρότερον
p. 16,19 (PG 539,42) in marg Νουμεριανός
p. 17,12 (PG 539,56) ὅρκοις
p. 17,16 (PG 539,61) προτέροις

Manuscripts OE frequently read against L:

p. 2,12 (PG 533,43) οὐδέποτε om
p. 13,10 (PG 538,33) καὶ ὅλως

Manuscripts OL also contain variants unknown to E:

p. 3,12 (PG 534,35) τι om
p. 4,12 (PG 535,7s) αὐτῆς
p. 8,9 (PG 536,37) τυγχάνη
p. 10,9 (PG 537,21) οὐδὲ πώποτε
p. 12,5 (PG 538,1) δὲ om

Finally, manuscripts SM and GR offer common variants:

SM p. 2,18 (PG 534,21) δελεάμιτι (error)
p. 17,9s (PG 539,54) ἑτέροις

GR p. 10,8 (PG 537,20) τοιαῦτα. . .ὑμέτερα om
p. 12,2 (PG 537,57) τοῦ κοσμοκράτορος
p. 13,11 (PG 538,34) αὐτοῖς
p. 14,11 (PG 538,52) ἀποκρίνασθαι

p. 17,19 (PG 540,2) αὐτός om

On the basis of these textual variants a stemma has been constructed to illustrate the interrelationship between the manuscripts of De Sancto Babyla, contra Iulianum et Gentiles.

TITLES

I Non-doxological tradition: BPDAC

Τοῦ ἐν ἁγίοις πατρὸς ἡμῶν Ἰωάννου ἀρχιεπισκόπου Κωνσταντίνου πόλεως τοῦ Χρυσοστόμου λόγος εἰς τὸν μακάριον Βαβύλαν καὶ κατὰ Ἑλλήνων C ut vid P

Τοῦ. . .Χρυσοστόμου: Τοῦ ἁγίου Ἰωάννου τοῦ Χρυσοστόμου A

Τοῦ. . .Χρυσοστόμου: Τοῦ αὐτοῦ B

Τοῦ. . .Χρυσοστόμου: Ἰωάννου ἀρχιεπισκόπου Κωνσταντινουπόλεως D

II Doxological tradition (corrected edition): [W] VH OELSMGR

Τοῦ ἐν ἁγίοις ἡμῶν Ἰωάννου ἀρχιεπισκόπου Κωνσταντινουπόλεως τοῦ Χρυσοστόμου εἰς τὸν μακάριον Βαβύλαν καὶ κατὰ Ἑλλήνων V

Τοῦ ἐν ἁγίοις πατρὸς ἡμῶν Ἰωάννου ἀρχιεπισκόπου Κωνσταντινουπόλεως τοῦ Χρυσοστόμου κατὰ Ἑλλήνων καὶ εἰς τὸν ἅγιον ἱερομάρτυρα Βαβύλαν [W] OELSMGR

πατριάρχου M

post Βαβύλαν add ἐπισκόπον Ἀντιοχείας S

Τοῦ ἐν ἁγίοις ἡμῶν Ἰωάννου ἀρχιεπισκόπου Κωνσταντινουπόλεως τοῦ Χρυσοστόμου ἐγκώμιον εἰς τὸν μακάριον Βαβύλαν ἐπισκόπον Ἀντιοχίᾳ

καὶ κατὰ Ἑλλήνων H

NOTE

W, though its text is basically that of the non-doxological tradition, has taken the form of its title from the doxological side.

CONCLUSIONS

There are three forms of the title, corresponding to the (1) non-doxological tradition and (2) the two branches of the doxological tradition:

1) Chrysostom's discourse Concerning Babylas and against the Greeks: BPDAC

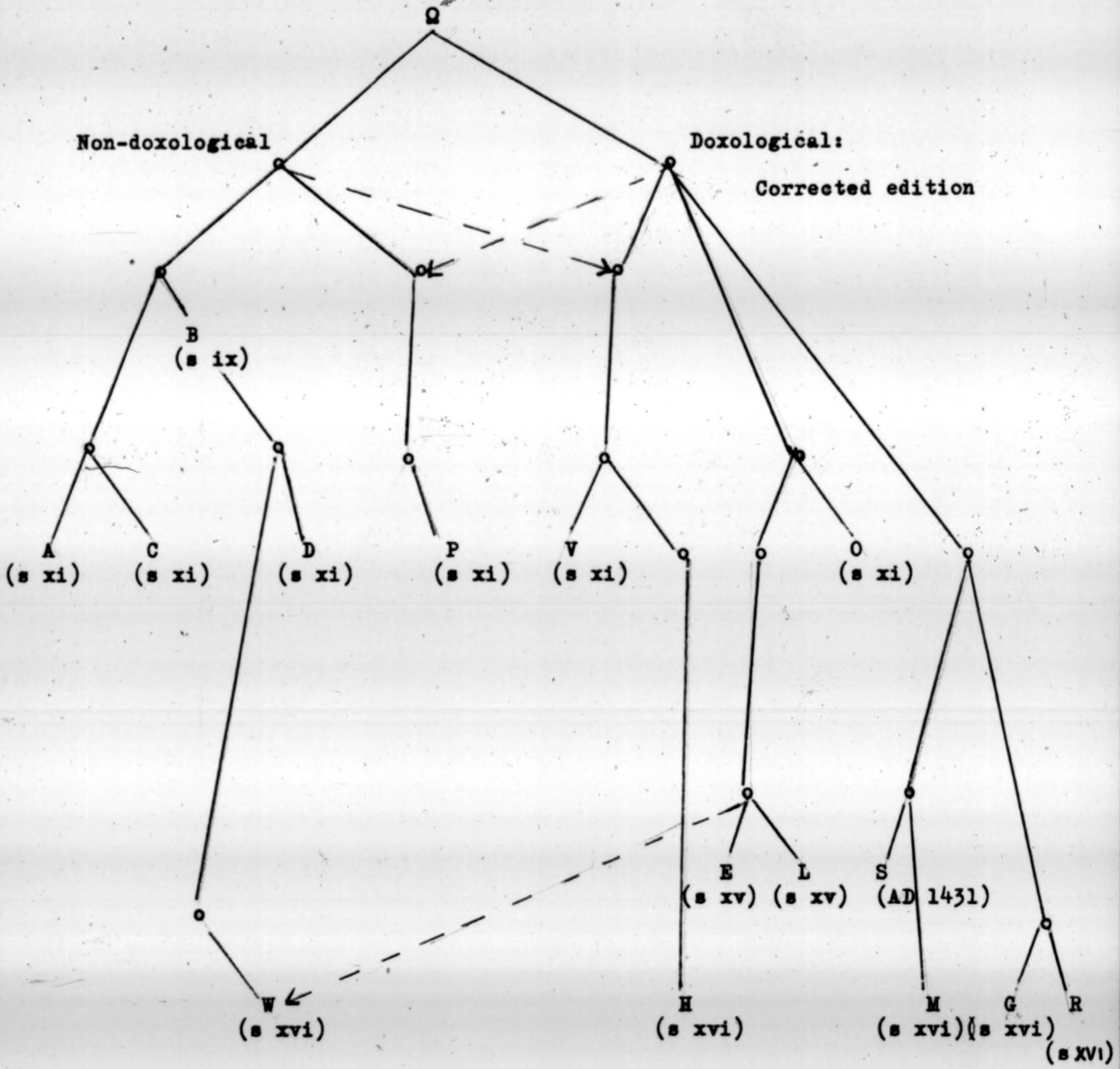
2) a Chrysostom's Concerning Babylas and against the Greeks: V

   b Chrysostom's Against the Greeks and concerning the holy martyr Babylas: OELSMGR

The doxological or corrected edition omitted the word "discourse" and reversed the subjects in the title, placing the more general topic (against the Greeks) before the more specific (Babylas) (2b).

Finally, the title of H is a Renaissance refurbishing of V's form of the title, where the missing word "discourse" is filled in by the elegant "encomium," and Babylas is specifically identified as the bishop of Antioch.

STEMMA


Ω
Non-doxological
Doxological:
Corrected edition
B
(s ix)
A
(s xi)
C
(s xi)
D
(s xi)
P
(s xi)
V
(s xi)
O
(s xi)
E
(s xv)
L
(s xv)
S
(AD 1431)
W
(s xvi)
H
(s xvi)
M
(s xvi)
G
(s xvi)
R
(s XVI)

PREVIOUS EDITIONS

The De Sancto Babyla, contra Iulianum et Gentiles was previously edited as part of the three great editions of Chrysostom's complete works (Savile [Eton, 1612] , Fronton du Duc [Paris, 1606-1636] and Montfaucon [Paris, 1718-1738]); and was reedited by Dübner together with other select works of Chrysostom in the third quarter of the nineteenth century. Fronton du Duc's edition of this work was apparently the first to appear (between 1606 and 1612), because Savile (1612) states that Fronton's edition was of no use to him, as it was not based upon manuscripts. Savile himself used as the basis of his edition a Paris manuscript, which he emended from a Bavarian manuscript and a printed edition of the Basel manuscript (= B).[1] Montfaucon (1738) lists the manuscripts he utilized for his edition; but only two of these five manuscripts have been identified under their current designations: Regius 2343 = Paris, gr. 759 (P); Colbertinus 974 = Paris, gr. 801 (C). (Regius 1673 and Colbertinus 2443 contain texts other than the De Sancto Babyla; while Regius 1673 cannot be identified with any known Greek manuscript.)[2] Dübner's edition also relied on Paris manuscripts and Baur complains that it is "à peine de variantes. . .ne suffit pas aux exigences scientifiques."[1]

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[1] Henry Savile, Chrysostomi opera omnia (Eton, 1612), 8, 734-735.

[2] PG 50,533 infra; Rev. Marcel Richard of the Institut de recherche et d'histoire des textes (Paris) was kind enough to trace the manuscripts listed by Montfaucon, and inform us by letter in summer 1965.

LATIN TRANSLATIONS

There exist three Latin translations of *De Sancto Babyla, contra Iulianum et Gentiles*, made in the Renaissance and afterwards, which are bound together by controversy. In 1523 Iohannes Oecolampadius translated the work from the Greek text of the Basel manuscript (=B).[2] Half a deacde later Germanus Brixius retranslated the treatise, protesting against Oecolampadius' version.[3] Finally, Montfaucon (1738) retranslated the work himself, because "Germani Brixii illa [interpretatio] paraphrasin omnino sapiebat."[4]

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[1] F. Dübner, Sancti Ioannis Chrysostomi opera selecta (Paris, 1861), pp. 212-254; cf. C. Baur, *S. Jean Chrysostome et ses oeuvres dans l'histoire littéraire* (Paris, 1907), p. 131.

[2] Iohannes Oecolampadius, *Psegmata quaedam nuperrime in latinum primo versa: cum admonitionibus eiusdem* (Basel, 1523).

[3] Germanus Brixius, *Liber contra gentiles, per G.B. latinus factus contra Ioannis Oecolampadii translationem* (Paris, 1528). Baur, p. 155, states that there is a "proteste dans la préface contre l'appréciation de cet écrit par Oecolampade."

[4] PG 50, 528.

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Psal. 2.11b p. 52,10
Psal. 63,8-9 p. 9,1s
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APPENDIX I:

Chrysostom's Theory of Relics

In the *De S. Babyla* Chrysostom, while narrating the modern history of Babylas,[1] speaks in general of the power of relics.[2] The remains of the martyr Babylas, he writes, are not a "corpse" but "alive" and "active" (pp. 71, 3s; 77,17). His relics contain a δύναμις, which is ἀόρατος and θεία (pp. 68,11; 87,6s). The source of this power is variously designated as God (n. 93) or Christ (n. 118). Such power is ascribed broadly by Chrysostom to τὰ τῶν ἁγίων λείψανα (p. 47,8) and οἱ τῶν ἁγίων τάφοι (p. 47,9).

Because he attributes power not only to martyr's relics, but also to those of "saints," his theory represents a crucial stage in the development of the cult of relics: "où le culte des saints s'élargit insensiblement, où l'on voit les honneurs, d'abord reservès aux martyrs, se partager également avec les évêques, les ascètes, les vierges."[3]

Finally, his theory of relics offers evidence for the authenticity of the treatise, since parallel passages are found in his homily on Babylas,[4] and in his seventh baptismal instruction,[5] which is concerned with the cult of the martyrs, where three types of parallel passages may be found. In the De. S. Babyla Chrysostom describes vividly the effect of a martyr's tomb upon those who view it (p. 47,9-17); the seventh baptismal instruction contains several similar descriptions (nn. 1, 3, 5). Again, in his treatise he emphasizes how the martyr passionately believed that "the wisdom of this world is folly with God (1 Cor. 3.19);" while in the baptismal instruction he also expresses this idea in similar language:

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[1] Nn. 67-127.

[2] Nn. 64-66, 87-91, 92-97, 127.

[3] H. Delehaye, *Les passions des martyrs et les genres littéraires* (Brussels, 1921), p. 188.

[4] PG 50, 529, 45-52; cf. supra p. 9.

[5] "Discours VII," *Huit catéchèses baptismales inédites*, ed. A. Wenger (Paris, 1957), pp. 229-246.

De S. Babyla, p. 25,1ss:	Catéchèse baptismale 7, 15:
Καὶ γὰρ ἦν πεπαιδευμένος ἀπὸ τῶν θείων δογμάτων ὅτι σκιὰ καὶ ὄναρ καὶ τούτων οὐδαμινώτερα ἅπαντα τὰ τοῦ κόσμου πράγματα.	Ἡ γὰρ ψυχὴ [τοῦ μάρτυρος] . . .πάντα καθάπερ ὄναρ καὶ σκιὰν παρατρέχει. . . .

Finally, in order to express his admiration for the martyr, Chrysostom utters an impassioned and rhythmic apostrophe in both the treatise and the baptismal instruction:

De S. Babyla, p. 24,16s	Catéchèse baptismale 7, 21
Ὦ ψυχῆς ἀκαταπλήκτου καὶ διανοίας ὑψηλῆς, ὦ φρενῶν οὐρανίων καὶ παραστήματος ἀγγελικοῦ.	Ὦ ψυχῆς πεπυρωμένης καὶ πολὺν ἐχούσης τὸν πόθον περὶ τὸν θεόν.

These passages from the seventh baptismal instruction and the homily on Babylas[1] through their similarity of thought and expression would indicate that the treatise is an authentic work of Chrysostom.

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[1] Cf. supra p. 9.

APPENDIX II:

Chrysostom's Use of 1 Clement

While narrating the martyrdom of Babylas,[1] Chrysostom expatiates on the bishop's goodwill toward his captor and his loving self-sacrifice. To illustrate Babylas' Christian virtue of Chrysostom cites the example of Moses' love for the rebellious Hebrew people (Ex. 32).[2] He may have been led to choose this example under the inspiration of Clement's first letter to the Corinthians,[3] where Moses' example is also cited at length to illustrate the nature of great love (cf. John 15.13).

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[1] De S. Babyla, nn. 57-62.

[2] Ibid., n. 59.

[3] 1 Clement 53 (ed. Lake).

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SIGLA

MANUSCRIPTI

B	Basiliensis graecus 37 (s. IX-X)
D	Musei Benaki codex antiquus 10 (s. XI)
A	Atheniensis graecus 2806 (s. XI)
P	Parisinus graecus 759 (s. XI)
C	Parisinus graecus 801 (s. XI)
O	Parisinus graecus 968 (s. XI)
V	Vaticanus graecus 1628 (s. XI)
S	Sinaiticus graecus 1607 (an. 1431)
E	Musei Escurial codex Ψ -IV-8 (478) (s. XV)
L	Vallicellianus 87 (s. XV)
M	Monacensis graecus 31 (an. 1546)
H	Holkhamiensis graecus 25 (s. XVI)
G	Vaticanus graecus 561 (s. XVI med.)
R	Vaticanus graecus Ottobonianus 350 (s. XVI)
W	Vindobonensis philologus graecus 166 (s. XVI)

EDITIO

v	textus Migneus

CONTRACTIONES

L^{2}	lectio a manu posterioris temporis scripta
L^{s}	lectio supra lineam scripta
L^{m}	lectio in margine scripta
$L^{m\gamma\rho}$	lectio in margine diversa a textu cum siglo γρ[άφεται]

SIGLA (cont.)

L^c	lectio post correctionem
[ ]	includunt litteras vix legendas
⟨ ⟩	includunt litteras a nobis suppletas

Τοῦ ἐν ἁγίοις πατρὸς ἡμῶν Ἰωάννου ἀρχιεπισκόπου Κωνσταντινουπόλεως τοῦ Χρυσοστόμου λόγος εἰς τὸν μακάριον Βαβύλαν καὶ κατὰ Ἑλλήνων

I 1 Ὁ Κύριος ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦς ὁ Χριστὸς μέλλων πρὸς τὸ πάθος ἤδη χωρεῖν καὶ τὸν θάνατον ἀποθνήσκειν τὸν ζωοποιὸν αὐτῇ τῇ τελευταίᾳ νυκτί, καλέσας ἰδίᾳ τοὺς ἑαυτοῦ μαθητάς, ἄλλα τε διελέχθη πολλὰ καὶ παρῄνεσε καὶ μετὰ τῶν ἄλλων εἶπέ τι καὶ τοιοῦτον αὐτοῖς· "Ἀμὴν ἀμὴν λέγω ὑμῖν, ὁ πιστεύων εἰς ἐμέ, τὰ ἔργα ἃ ἐγὼ ποιῶ κἀκεῖνος ποιήσει καὶ μείζονα τούτων ποιήσει." Καίτοι πολλοὶ ἕτεροι διδάσκαλοί τε ἐγένοντο καὶ μαθητὰς ἔσχον καὶ θαύματα ἐπεδείξαντο καθὼς Ἑλλήνων παῖδες κομπάζουσι, ἀλλ' ὅμως οὐδεὶς οὐδέποτε ἐκείνων τοιοῦτον οὐδὲν PG 50 533

5-6 Io 14.12a 7ss Apollonium Tyaneium thaumatopoion parem esse Christo dixit Hierocles Nicomedenses sed a Eusebio refutatus est: cf HDoergens ThGl 25 (1933) 292-304

BPDACW VH OELSMGR TITULUS C (Κωνσταντίνου πόλεως emendavimus) P ut vid Τοῦ. . .Χρυσοστόμου: Τοῦ ἁγίου Ἰωάννου τοῦ Χρυσοστόμου A Τοῦ αὐτοῦ B Ἰωάννου ἀρχιεπισκόπου Κωνσταντινουπόλεως D Τοῦ. . .λόγος: Τοῦ ἐν ἁγίοις πατρὸς ἡμῶν Ἰωάννου ἀρχιεπισκόπου Κωνσταντινουπόλεως τοῦ Χρυσοστόμου V Τοῦ. . .Ἑλλήνων: Τοῦ ἐν ἁγίοις ἡμῶν Ἰωάννου ἀρχιεπισκόπου Κωνσταντινουπόλεως τοῦ Χρυσοστόμου ἐγκώμιον εἰς τὸν μακάριον Βαβύλαν ἐπίσκοπον Ἀντιοχίᾳ καὶ κατὰ Ἑλλήνων H λόγος. . . Ἑλλήνων: κατὰ Ἑλλήνων καὶ εἰς τὸν ἅγιον ἱερομάρτυρα Βαβύλαν W OELSMGR sed πατριάρχου M Κωνσταντινουπόλους O Κωνσταντινουπόλεως ELW post Βαβύλαν add ἐπίσκοπον Ἀντιοχείας S

PDCW VH OELSMGR 1 ὁ ante Χριστὸς om PW VH OELSMGR 4 διελέγχθη C τι in ras O 5 Ἀμὴν om D ἀμὴν in ras C om D 6 καὶ. . .ποιήσει om D GR 9 οὐδὲν: οὐδενὶ W

οὖτε εἰς νοῦν ἐβάλετο οὖτε εἰπεῖν ἐτόλμησεν. Οὐδ' ἂν ἔχοιεν Ἑλλήνων παῖδες, κἂν πάντα ἀναισχυντοῖεν, ἐπιδεῖξαι πρόρρησιν ἢ λόγον τοιοῦτον κείμενον παρ' αὐτοῖς, ἀλλὰ φάσματα μὲν τῶν κατοιχομένων καὶ νεκρῶν τινῶν εἴδωλα δεῖξαι πολλοὶ πολλοὺς παρ' αὐτοῖς θαυματοποιούς φασι, καὶ φωνάς δέ τινας ἀπὸ μνημείων τισὶν ἐνεχθῆναι λέγουσιν, ὅτι δέ τις τῶν ζησάντων ἀνθρώπων καὶ θαυμασθέντων παρ' αὐτοῖς ἢ οὓς μετὰ τελευτὴν ἐνόμισαν εἶναι θεοὺς εἰπέ τι τοιοῦτον τοῖς ἑαυτοῦ μαθηταῖς οὐδεὶς ἂν αὐτῶν διισχυρίσαιτό ποτε.

2 Καὶ τὴν αἰτίαν δὲ εἰ βούλεσθε ἐρῶ, διὰ τί τὰ ἄλλα πάντα ἀπηρυθριασμένως καὶ γυμνῇ ψευδόμενοι τῇ κεφαλῇ, τοιοῦτον οὐδέποτε οὐδὲν πλάσασθαι ἐτόλμησαν. Οὐ γὰρ ἁπλῶς οὐδὲ ἄνευ τινὸς λόγου ταύτης ἀπέσχοντο τῆς μηχανῆς, ἀλλ' εἶδον τοῦτο κακούργως οἱ λυμεῶνες ἐκεῖνοι, ὅτι τὸν μέλλοντα ἀπατᾶν πιθανά τινα καὶ πολλῆς γέμοντα κομψείας καὶ πρὸς τὸ φωραθῆναι δυσδιάγνωστα συντιθέναι χρή. Καὶ γὰρ τοὺς δεινοὺς τῶν τε ἰχθύων τῶν τε ὀρνίθων θηρευτὰς ἔθος οὐ γυμνὰ προτιθέναι τὰ θήρατρα, ἀλλὰ τῷ δελέατι πάντοθεν αὐτὰ περιστεί- 534

3ss necyomanteia, Graecae artis magicae genus vetus, in Hom Od 11,23ss, Aesch Pers 618ss: cf Cramer Anecd Ox 4,240 et videas ABarb in The Conflict between Paganism and Christianity in the Fourth Century p 101 7s cf Plut De def or 415b 11 cf infra p 57,9

BPDACW VH OELSMGR v 1 ἦν O 2 παῖδες: τινὲς BDACv πρόρησιν D 4 πολλοὶ: πολλοῖς ACW 6 τις: τισι BCW R 7 αὐτῶν AC τὴν ante τελευτὴν add G 8 εἶναι om W 9 ἰσχυρίσαιτό BPDACW OELSMGRv et cf PG 48,712 διισχυριζόμενος 10 βούλεσθαι W 11 ἀπηρυθριασμένως: ἀπαρ- H ἀπερυθριάσαιεν ὡς B Erasmus (fol. α 4^{v}) 12 οὐδέποτε om OE πλάσασθαι. . .οὐδὲ om E 13 τοῦτο: τοῦ E 15 μὴ post τὸ add OELSMv 16 δυσδιάγνως L 17 θηρατὰς ACV OSR θηραταὶ H ἔθος om BW οὐ: οἱ D 18 δελέατι: δελεαμιτι SM περιστείλαντας V περιστέλλοντες H λαντας ἀκριβῶς οὕτω τῆς ἄγρας περιγενέσθαι ἑκατέρας ἑκατέρους. Εἰ δὲ ἐκκαλύφαντες αὐτὰ τοῖς ἁλίσκεσθαι μέλλουσιν οὕτω παρεῖχον ὁρᾶν, οὔτε ἰχθῦς οὔτε ὄρνις τῶν ἀρκύων ἐκείνων ἐντὸς ἂν ἐγένοντό ποτε, μᾶλλον δὲ οὐδ' ἂν τὴν ἀρχὴν προσῆλθον αὐτοῖς, ἀλλὰ κεναῖς ἂν ἕκαστος οἴκαδε ἀπῆλθε χερσὶν ὅ τε θαλάττιος ὅ τε χερσαῖος θηρατής. Ἐπεὶ οὖν καὶ τούτοις σαγηνεύειν ἀνθρώπους προὔκειτο οὐκ ἔρριφαν γυμνην τὴν ἀπάτην εἰς τὸ τοῦ πέλαγος, ἀλλὰ πλασάμενοι καὶ συνθέντες τὰ δυνάμενα τοὺς ἀλογωτέρους ἑλεῖν περαιτέρω προελθεῖν ἐφείσαντο τῷ ψεύδει δεδοικότες τὴν ὑπερβολὴν καὶ φοβούμενοι μὴ τῇ τῶν δευτέρων ἀμετρίᾳ καὶ τὰ πρότερα ἀναλύσωσαν.

3 Εἰ γὰρ εἶπον ὅτι τοιοῦτόν τι παρ' αὐτοῖς ἐπηγγείλατό τις οἷον ὁ ἡμέτερος Σωτὴρ τοῖς μαθηταῖς εἶπε τοῖς ἑαυτοῦ καὶ οἱ παρ' αὐτῶν ἠπατημένοι κατεγέλασαν ἂν αὐτῶν ὡς οὐδὲ πιθανὰ ψεύσασθαι δυνηθέντων. Τὸ γὰρ τοιαῦτα καὶ προλέγειν καὶ πληροῦν μετὰ ἀληθείας, τῆς μακαρίας ἐκείνης δυνάμεως μόνης ἐστίν. Εἰ δέ τι καὶ δαίμονες ἴσχυσάν ποτε φαντάσαι τοὺς ἠπατημένους μικρὸν, ἀλλ' ὅτε οὔπω τοῦ φωτὸς ἡ πηγὴ γνώριμος ἦν τοῖς πολλοῖς. Καὶ τότε δὲ αὐτόθεν ἐδείκνυτο ὅτι δαιμόνων ἦν ἔργα τὰ τελούμενα τῇ τε ἄλλῃ ἀπάτῃ καὶ ταῖς θυσίαις αὐταῖς. Τὸ γὰρ ἀνθρωπίνοις αἵμασι τοὺς ἑαυτῶν προστάττειν φοινίττεσθαι βωμοὺς

20ss cf Io Chrysos Quod nemo laeditur 17,52ss (ed Malingrey)

BPDACW VH OELSMGR v 1 οὕτως D περιγίνεσθαι VH SR 2s οὕτω παρεῖχον ὁρᾶν om W 3 ὄρνιθες BDACWv 4 ἐγένετό V OSM 4 προσέσχον ἢ ante προσῆλθον add W προσῆλθεν VH 5 οἴκαδε om OELSMR sed post χερσὶν BP Gv ὅ τε χερσαῖος ὅ τε θαλάττιος W 6 Ἐπεὶ: ἐπὶ L 9 ἑλεῖν: ἐλθεῖν AC περαιτέ O 10 μὴ om W 11 πρότερον OEL 12 τοιοῦτόν: οὗτον W τι om O 14 ἂν om D 15 καὶ ante προλέγειν W^s 16 μόνης δυναμέως VH 18s πολλοῖς: παλαιοῖς G et πόλλοις G^m γρ 19 ante αὐτόθεν iterum]πω τοῦ φωτὸς (p3,18) eras E τὰ om E 20 ταῖς: τῆς M 21 φοινίσσεσθαι CH ES καὶ παρὰ τῶν σπειράντων τὰ τοιαῦτα αὐτοῖς κελεύειν ἱερεῖα καταβαλλεσθαι, τίνα οὐκ ἂν ἀποκρύψειε μανίας ὑπερβολήν;

4 Οἱ γὰρ μηδέποτε ἐκ τῶν ἡμετέρων κορεννύμενοι συμφορῶν
μηδὲ εἰδότες ὅρον τινὰ καὶ πέρας τῆς μάχης τῆς πρὸς ἡμᾶς, ἀλλὰ
ἀθάνατα λυττῶντες ἀεὶ καθάπερ οὐκ ἀρκοῦν αὐτῶν ἐμπλῆσαι τὸν
θυμὸν τὸ γυναῖκας καὶ παῖδας ἀντὶ προβάτων καὶ βοῶν εἰς τοὺς 535
αὐτῶν κατασφάττεσθαι βωμοὺς, ἐπενόησαν ξένην ἀνδροφονίας παρανομίαν καὶ καινότερον συμφορᾶς ἐπεισήγαγον τρόπον. Οὓς γὰρ
ἔδει πενθεῖν τὰς τῶν ἀνῃρημένων σφαγὰς τούτους ἔπεισαν εἰς τὴν
ἀθλίαν ἐκείνην μιαιφονίαν προάγειν αὐτούς.

5 Καὶ ἵνα μὴ μόνον οἱ παρὰ τῶν ἀνθρώπων τεθέντες ἀτιμάζωνται νόμοι καὶ τοὺς τῆς φύσεως αὐτοὺς θεσμοὺς ἐκ βάθρων ἀνέσπασαν αὐτὴν καθ' ἑαυτῆς ἐκβακχεύσαντες καὶ τὸν ἁπάντων ἐναγέστερον φόνον εἰς τὸν τῶν ἀνθρώπων εἰσάγοντες βίον. Οὐδένας γὰρ ἐχθροὺς οὕτως λοιπὸν ὡς τοὺς γεγεννηκότας ἅπαντες ἔδεισαν, καὶ οἷς ἐχρῆν μάλιστα πάντων θαρρεῖν τούτους μάλιστα πάντων δι' ὑποψίας εἶχον καὶ ἀπεστρέφοντο. Οἱ γὰρ ἀλάστορες ἐκεῖνοι

8ss hostia humana in historia Graeca res rara sed celebratissima in fabula et conspicua in Euripidis tragoediis (Alc, Ba, Heracl) ubi et filia a parente immolata (IA, IT)

PDACW VH OELSMGR 1 iuxta σπειράντων add ἢ γοῦν παρὰ τῶν γονέων glossam V^m σπειράντων: γονέων forte ut glossam S 2 ἀποκρύψειε: ἀποβάψειε E 3 κορεννύμενοι post μηδέποτε W 7s ὑπενοήσαν R 7s παρανομίαν: οἰκονομίαν H 8 κενότερον D^c κανότερον R ἱκανότερον $G^{m\,\gamma\rho}$ ἐπεισάγοντες D 10 προσάγειν VH O 11s ἀτιμάζονται CW 12 αὐτοὺς om W αὐτῆς OL 13 ἑαυτῆς: ἑαυτοῦ E ἑαυτην O 13s ἐνεγέστορον W 14 εἰσαγαγοντες OES εἰσήγαγον V 15 γὰρ om W οὕτω PACW VH OELSMGR λοιπὸν ante ἅπαντες W ἐδεδίεσαν VH OELSMGR 16 τούτοις W τούτους μάλιστα πάντων om AC

δι' ὧν ὁ θεὸς αὐτοὺς ἐπὶ τὴν θεωρίαν τοῦδε τοῦ κόσμου παρήγαγε
διὰ τούτων αὐτοὺς ταύτης ἐκβαλεῖν ἐφιλονείκησαν τῆς
δωρεᾶς, τοὺς πρὸς τὸ ζῆν ὑπηρετησαμένους τούτους καὶ τοῦ
θανάτου καταστήσαντες αἰτίους ὥσπερ ἐπιδείξαι βουλόμενοι
ὅτι πλέον αὐτοῖς οὐδὲν γέγονεν ἐκ τῆς ἀγαθότητος τοῦ θεοῦ·
οὐ γὰρ ἑτέρων δεήσονται σφαγῶν ἀλλὰ τῶν φυσαμένων αὐτῶν
ταῦτα.

6 Τούτοις κἂν εἰ θαῦμά τι παρηκολούθησεν μέγα (μὴ ὅτι εἴ
που τι καὶ ἐδείχθη μικρὸν καὶ οὐδενὸς ἄξιον λόγου καὶ πολλῆς
γέμον ἀπάτης ἦν, ἀλλ' εἰ καὶ μεγάλα ἦν τὰ γινόμενα) ταῦτα ἅπερ
εἶπον τοῖς μὴ λίαν ἐξεστηκόσιν ἱκανὰ δεῖξαι τίνες ἦσαν οἱ καὶ
ἐκεῖνα ἐργαζόμενοι, πῶς μιαροὶ καὶ παμμίαροι καὶ πάντα ἐπ' ἐκτροπῇ
καὶ τῆς ζωῆς καὶ τῆς καταστάσεως τεκταίνοντες τῆς ἡμετέρας.
II 'Αλλ' οὐχ ὁ Κύριος ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦς τοιοῦτον οὐδὲν ἐπέταξεν
ἡμῖν, ἀλλὰ θαυμαστὸς ὢν διὰ τὰ τεράστια, διὰ τὰ προστάγματα
τῶν θαυμάτων οὐκ ἧττον παρὰ πάντων ἂν προσκυνοῖτο δικαίως
καὶ πιστεύοιτο εἶναι θεός. Τὴν γὰρ παρανομίαν ταύτην αὐτὸς
ἐλθὼν ἔλυσε, καὶ τὸ θαυμαστότερον ὅτι τῆς ἀγρίας καὶ ἀπηνοῦς
τυραννίδος οὐ τοὺς προσκυνοῦντας αὐτὸν μόνον ἡμᾶς ἀλλὰ
καὶ τοὺς βλασφημοῦντας αὐτὸν ἐκείνους ἀπήλλαξεν· οὐδὲ γὰρ
Ἑλλήνων τις ἔτι τοιαύτας θυσίας τοῖς ἑαυτοῦ δαίμοσι πρόαγειν
ἠνάγκασται.

BPDACW VH OELSMGR v 2 αὐτοῖς W 3 ὑπηρετισαμένος v τούτους ut vid R καὶ τοῦ in ras B 5 οὐδὲν αὐτοῖς BPW OELSMGR 6 δεήσωνται W^{c} σφαγέων PACWV OELSMGRv σφαγίων H 7 s ταῦτα. Τούτοις scripsimus: ταῦτα BD et ut initium sententiae PAC Gv Τούτοις VH OELSMGR 8 κἂν εἰ: εἰ καὶ PAC VH OELSMGR μέγα om V OEL post μὴ add θαυμάσῃς VH OELSMGR 9 τι om OEL post τι add που R 10 ταῦτα om W 11 καὶ om AC 12 s ἐκτροπῇ: ἀνατροπῇ DW VH OELSMGRv 13 s ἡμετέρας: ἡμέρας D 14 Ἰησοῦς Χριστὸς R 15 τεραστὰ ut vid G τετάστια G^{m} γρ 15 s προστάγματα: πράγματα H 18 ἔλυσε: ἔλεισε E τὸ om E 19 αὐτῷ V ἐκείνης S 22 ἠναγκασθαι W^{e}

7 Τοσαύτῃ πρὸς τὸ ἡμέτερον ἀεὶ φιλανθρωπίᾳ κέχρηται γένος, καὶ ὧν οἱ δαίμονες τοὺς ἑαυτῶν φίλους εἰργάσαντο κακῶν μείζονα ὁ θεὸς τοὺς ἐχθροὺς ἐποίησεν ἀγαθά. Οἱ μὲν γὰρ δαίμονες τοὺς θεραπεύοντας αὐτοὺς καὶ τιμῶντας τῶν οἰκείων παίδων γενέσθαι σφαγέας ἠνάγκασαν· ὁ δὲ Χριστὸς τοὺς ἀποστρεφομένους αὐτὸν τούτων τῶν ἐπιταγμάτων ἀπήλλαξε, καὶ τῆς θηριώδους λειτουργίας τὴν ἀτέλειαν καὶ τὴν θαυμαστὴν ταύτην εἰρήνην οὐκ εἰς τοὺς οἰκείους μόνους συνέκλεισεν ἀλλὰ καὶ εἰς τοὺς ἀλλοτρίους ἐξήγαγε, δεικνὺς ὅτι ἐκεῖνοι μὲν τύραννοί τινες καὶ τοῦ γένους ἡμῶν ἐχθροὶ καὶ λυμεῶνες εἰσι δι' ὃ καὶ τοῖς ᾠκειωμένοις ὡς ἀλλοτρίοις ἐκέχρηντο· καὶ γὰρ ἦσαν ἀλλότριοι. Ὁ δὲ βασιλεὺς καὶ δημιουργὸς καὶ σωτὴρ τοῦ παντὸς γένους ἀνθρώπων αὐτὸς ἦν διὸ καὶ τῶν ἠλλοτριωμένων ὡς ἰδίων ἐφείδετο.

8 Καὶ γὰρ ἦν ἴδιον ἔργον αὐτοῦ πᾶσα ἡ τῶν ἀνθρώπων φύσις καθὼς καὶ ὁ μαθητὴς αὐτοῦ φησιν· "Εἰς τὰ ἴδια ἦλθε καὶ οἱ ἴδιοι αὐτὸν οὐκ ἐδέξαντο." Ἀλλὰ πᾶσαν μὲν αὐτοῦ καταλέγειν τὴν φιλανθρωπίαν οὐ τοῦ παρόντος καιροῦ--ἀλλὰ κἂν πάντας τοὺς 536 αἰῶνας περὶ αὐτῆς φθέγγηταί τις, κἂν τοσαύτην ἔχῃ δύναμιν ὅσην τὰς ἀσωμάτους δυνάμεις εἰκὸς οὐδὲ οὕτως ἐφάψεται τῆς ἀξίας ποτέ. Ὅσον γάρ ἐστιν ἀγαθὸς μόνος οἶδεν αὐτὸς ἐπειδὴ

15s Io 1.11

PDACW VH OELSMGR 2 ὧν om E φίλοις W 3 ante θεὸς add ἐχθρὸς eras W τοῖς ἐχθροῖς PW VH OELMG 5 σφαγίας M 7 θαυμασίαν ut vid D 8 μόνον OSM 9 μὲν om S 10 λυμαιῶνες AC 10ss τοῖς ᾠκειωμένοις. . .ἦν διὸ καὶ (p 6,13) om D 10s οἰκειωμένοις C 11 ἀλλοτρίοις ἐκέχραν[το· καὶ γὰρ] ἦσαν M^m 14 ἦν W^s ἔργον om W 16 αὐτὸν: αὐτῶν AC οὐκ ἐδέξαντο: οὐ παρέλαβον WVH OLSMGR et οὐ κατέλαβον W 18 ἔχει R 19 ὅσον AW SR τὰς: τοὺς R καὶ μόνος ἐστὶν οὗτως ἀγαθός. Ὅρα γοῦν οἷα τοῖς μαθηταῖς φησιν· "Ἀμὴν ἀμὴν λέγω ὑμῖν, ὁ πιστεύων εἰς ἐμὲ τὰ ἔργα ἃ ἐγὼ ποιῶ κἀκεῖνος ποιήσει καὶ μείζονα τούτων ποιήσει." Οὐδὲ γὰρ ἂν τοσαύτης αὐτοῖς μετέδωκε τῆς τιμῆς μὴ λίαν καὶ ἀπείρως ὢν ἀγαθός.

9 Εἰ δέ τις ἡμῖν ἀμφισβητοίη ποῦ τέλος ἔσχεν οὗτος ὁ χρησμός, τὸ βιβλίον μετὰ χεῖρας λαβὼν ὃ καλεῖται μὲν Πράξεις Ἀποστόλων, ἔχει δὲ αὐτὰς οὐ πάσας ἀλλ' οὐδὲ πάντων αὐτῶν, ἀλλ' ἑνὸς ἢ δύο καὶ ταύτας εὐαριθμήτους τὰς δὲ σκιὰς μόνον τῶν μακαρίων ἐκείνων ἐφαπτομένας τε αὐτῶν ἅμα καὶ τὴν ὑγίειαν ἐργαζομένας, πολλοῖς δὲ τῶν μαινομένων τῶν ἱματίων Παύλου οὐδὲν πλέον ἐδέησε πρὸς τὴν τοῦ κινοῦντος αὐτοὺς δαίμονος ἀπαλλαγήν. Εἰ δέ τις ταῦτα τῦφον εἶναι λέγοι καὶ τερατείαν πλασμάτων ἀπίθανον ἀλλὰ τά γε νῦν ὁρώμενα ἱκανὰ τὸ βλάσφημον ἐμφράξαι στόμα καὶ καταισχῦναι καὶ τὴν ἀχαλίνωτον γλῶτταν ἐπισχεῖν. Οὐ γὰρ ἔστιν ἐν τῇ καθ' ἡμᾶς οἰκουμένῃ οὐ χώρα, οὐκ ἔθνος, οὐ πόλις ἔνθα ταῦτα οὐκ ᾄδεται τὰ παράδοξα οὐκ ἂν θαυμασθέντα ποτὲ εἰ πλάσματα ἦν.

10 Καὶ τοῦ λόγου τὴν μαρτυρίαν ὑμεῖς ἂν παράσχοιτε ταύτην

2s Io 14.12a 9ss cf Act Ap 5,15 11ss Act Ap talia de Paulo non narrat sed cf Matt 9.20s (Marc 5.27, Luc 8.44), Matt 14.36, Marc 3.10

BPDACW VH OELSMGR v 1 οὗτος PAWV ELSMG et ante ἔστιν (6,20) O 1s οἷα ante φησὶν W 2 ἀμὴν om E post ὑμῖν add ὅτι W ὁ πιστεύων εἰς ἐμὲ om H 4 τῆς om L 6 τέλους AC τὸ ante τέλος add VH 7 s Ἀποστόλων Πράξεις DAC VH OELSMGR 8 αὐτὰς: αὐτὸ S 10 ὑγείαν H OEL 11 πολλοὶ D 12 δαίμονας AC δαίμονες W^c 13 λέγει W EL 14 ἀπείθανον W γε: δε C 15 καταισχῦναι: κατησχῆναι C γλῶσσαν SR 17 s οὐκ ἂν θαυμασθέντα scripsimus : οὐ θαυμασθέντα BPDAC EGRv οὐκ ἀναγκασθέντα W οὐκ ἂν ἀσθέντα VH OLSM ἡμῖν. Οὐ γὰρ δεησόμεθα παρ᾽ ἑτέρων τὴν πίστιν τῶν λεγομένων λαβεῖν ὑμῶν τῶν ἐχθρῶν ταύτην παρεχομένων ἡμῖν. Εἰπὲ γάρ μοι, διὰ τί τὸν Ζωροάστρην ἐκεῖνον καὶ τὸν Ζάμολξιν οὐδὲ ἐξ ὀνόματος ἴσασιν οἱ πολλοὶ μᾶλλον δὲ οὐδένες πλὴν ὀλίγων τινῶν; Ὅτι πλάσματα ἦν τὰ περὶ ἐκείνων λεγόμενα ἅπαντα. Καίτοι κἀκεῖνοι καὶ οἱ τὰ ἐκείνων συνθέντες δεινοὶ γενέσθαι λέγονται οἱ μὲν γοητείαν εὑρεῖν καὶ ἐργάσασθαι οἱ δὲ συσκιάσαι φεῦδος τῇ τῶν λόγων πιθανότητι. Ἀλλὰ πάντα μάτην γίνεται καὶ εἰκῇ ὅταν ἡ τῶν λεγομένων ὑπόθεσις σαθρὰ καὶ φευδὴς οὖσα τύχῃ ὥσπερ οὖν ὅταν ἰσχυρὰ καὶ ἀληθὴς πάντα πάλιν μάτην γίνεται καὶ εἰκῇ τὰ πρὸς ἀνατροπὴν ἐπινοούμενα παρὰ τῶν ἐχθρῶν.

11 Οὐδεμιᾶς γὰρ δεῖται βοηθείας ἡ τῆς ἀληθείας ἰσχύς, ἀλλὰ κἂν μυρίους ἔχῃ τοὺς σβεννύντας αὐτὴν οὐ μόνον οὐκ ἀφανίζεται, ἀλλὰ καὶ δι᾽ αὐτῶν τῶν ἐπηρεάζειν ἐπιχειρούντων φαιδροτέρα καὶ ὑφηλοτέρα ἄνεισι τῶν εἰκῇ κοπτόντων ἑαυτοὺς καὶ μαινομένων καταγελῶσα. Τὰ μὲν γὰρ παρ᾽ ἡμῖν ἅ φατε πλάσματα εἶναι καὶ τύραννοι καὶ βασιλεῖς καὶ λόγων ἄμαχοι σοφισταὶ ἤδη δὲ καὶ φιλόσοφοι καὶ γόητες καὶ μάγοι καὶ δαίμονες καθελεῖν ἐσπούδασαν,

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2ss Zoroaster et Zalmoxis hic tantum a Chrysostomo nominantur profecto haec verba ut de Zoroastre testimonium a viris doctis proferuntur: videas AJackson Zoroaster App 5,25 (Εἰπὲ [p 8,2] ad ἰσχύς [p 8,12]) et JBidez & FCumont Les mages hellénisés 2,B10e (ad τύχῃ [p 8,9]) de Zalmoxe Thracorum sapiente cf D L 1,1; D S 1,94,2

BPDACW VH OELSMGR v 1 δεησόμεθα: δεηθησόμεθα W et διηγησόμεθα A 3 Ζωροαστρον W καὶ om G Ζαμόλαξιν AC 4 οὐδενες: οὐδέν ετ C οὐδέ τινες PDAW OELGRv 5 ante Ὅτι add ἆρ᾽ οὐχ et post ἅπαντα add interrogationis notam WVH OELSMGR γε post Καίτοι add Fronto Duc v 6 συνθέντες: συντεθέντες G et σωθέντες A 8 post γίνεται add τῇ τῶν λόγων πιθανότητι (p8,8) eras E 9s ὅταν. . .γίνεται καὶ om H 9 ἡ: οἱ G τυγχάνῃ EL τύχῃ L^{m} γρ ἀληθῆ ACW ἅπαντα PDACH S μάτην in ras C 12 ἡ τῆς ἀληθείας om E 13 ἔχει B^{c} ut vid 15 ὑφηλοτης E ἄνεισι: γίνεται forte ut glossam VH OLSMGR τῶν om AC 16 ἡμῶν S et H^{c}

καὶ "ἐξησθένησεν ἐπ' αὐτοὺς ἡ γλῶσσα αὐτῶν" (κατὰ τὸν προφητικὸν λόγον) καὶ "Βέλος νηπίων ἐγενήθησαν αἱ πληγαὶ αὐτῶν." Οἱ μὲν γὰρ βασιλεῖς τοσοῦτον ἐκέρδαναν ἐκ τῆς καθ' ἡμῶν ἐπιβουλῆς ὅσον θηριωδίας δόξαν παρὰ πᾶσιν ἔλαβον. Διὰ γὰρ τὸν κατὰ τῶν μαρτύρων θυμὸν εἰς τὴν τῆς κοινῆς φύσεως ἐξενεχθέντες ἀπήνειαν μρρίοις ἑαυτοὺς οὐ συνεῖδον περιβαλόντες ὀνείδεσιν. Οἱ δὲ φιλόσοφοι καὶ δεινοὶ ῥήτορες δόξαν πολλὴν οἱ μὲν ἐπὶ σεμνότητι οἱ δὲ ἐπὶ λόγων δυνάμει παρὰ τοῖς πολλοῖς ἔχοντες μετὰ τὴν πρὸς ἡμᾶς μάχην καταγέλαστοι γεγόνασι καὶ παίδων ληρούντων ἁπλῶς οὐδὲν διαφέρειν ἔδοξαν.

12 'Απὸ γὰρ ἐθνῶν καὶ δήμων τοσούτων οὐ σοφόν τινα, οὐκ 537
ἄσοφον, οὐκ ἄνδρα, οὐ γυναῖκα ἀλλ' οὐδὲ παιδίον μικρὸν μεταπεῖσαι ἴσχυσαν, ἀλλὰ τοσοῦτός ἐστι τῶν ὑπ' αὐτῶν γεγραμμένων ὁ γέλως ὥστε ἀφανισθῆναι καὶ τὰ βιβλία πάλαι καὶ ἅμα τῷ δειχθῆναι καὶ ἀπολέσθαι τὰ πολλά. Εἰ δέ που τι καὶ εὑρεθείη διασωθὲν παρὰ Χριστιανοῖς τοῦτο σωζόμενον εὕροι τις ἄν. Τοσοῦτον ἀπέχομεν βλάβην τινὰ παρὰ τῆς ἐκείνων ὑποπτεύειν ἐπιβουλῆς, οὕτω καταγελῶμεν τῆς πολλῆς τῶν μηχανημάτων αὐτῶν περιεργίας. Οὔτε γὰρ εἰ τὰ σώματα ἀδαμάντινα καὶ ἄφθαρτα ἦν ἡμῖν "σκορπίους" καὶ "ὄφεις" καὶ πῦρ ταῖς χερσὶν ἐπισφίγγοντες ἐδείσαμεν ἂν ἀλλὰ

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1 Ps 63.9   1s etenim psalmus "sermo profeticus" sec Theod Mopsuest In ps 3,9 (p 19 [ed Devreesse])   15s Origines Celsi, Cyrillus Alex Iuliani librorum relliquias conservant sicut ipse in hoc libello Libanium (infra nn 98-113)   19s [et infra p 10,3s] cf Luc 10.19 (Marc 16.18), Ps 90.13

DACW VH OELSMGR v   1 post καὶ add ὅμως VH OELSGR   ἐξησθένησαν V OMG   αἱ γλῶσσαι WVH OMGR   2 Βέλη OELM   4 λαβεῖν WVH OELSMGRv   6 περιβάλλοντες D G   περιλαβόντες W   ὀνείδεσιν ex ὀνείροις H^c 11 γὰρ O^s 14 τῷ: τὸ AC   δεχθῆναι W   15 τι om G   et ante διασωθὲν W   17 τῆς: τοῖς G   18 αὐτῶν om VH καὶ ἐπεδειξάμεθα· οὔτε ἐπειδὴ τὰς ψυχὰς ἡμῖν καὶ τὴν πίστιν τοιαύτην κατεσκεύασεν ὁ Χριστὸς τὰ φάρμακα τῶν ἐχθρῶν ἔχοντες δεδοίκαμεν. Εἰ γὰρ ἐπάνω "ὄφεων" καὶ"σκορπίων" καὶ πάσης τοῦ διαβόλου τῆς τυραννίδος "πατεῖν" ἡμῖν ἐπιτέτακται πολλῷ μᾶλλον ἐπάνω σκωλήκων καὶ κανθάρων. Τοσοῦτον γὰρ τὸ μέσον τῆς τούτων βλάβης πρὸς τὴν ἐκείνου τοῦ πονηροῦ δαίμονος ἐπιβουλήν.

III 13 Καὶ τὰ μὲν ἡμέτερα τοιαῦτα τὰ δὲ ὑμέτερα. Ἐπολέμησε μὲν αὐτοὺς οὐδεὶς οὐδέποτε, οὐδὲ γὰρ θέμις Χριστιανοῖς ἀνάγκῃ καὶ βίᾳ καταστρέφειν τὴν πλάνην ἀλλὰ καὶ πειθοῖ καὶ λόγῳ καὶ προσηνείᾳ τὴν τῶν ἀνθρώπων ἐργάζεσθαι σωτηρίαν. Ὅθεν οὐδεὶς τῶν τὰ τοῦ Χριστοῦ φρονούντων βασιλεὺς δόγματα καθ' ὑμῶν ἔθηκε τοιαῦτα οἷα καθ' ἡμῶν οἱ τὰ τῶν δαιμόνων θεραπεύσαντες ἐπενόησαν. Ἀλλ' ὅμως τοσαύτης ἀπολαύσασα ἡσυχίας καὶ ὑπ' οὐδενὸς ἐνοχληθεῖσά ποτε τῆς Ἑλληνικῆς δεισιδαιμονίας ἡ πλάνη ἀφ' ἑαυτῆς ἐσβέσθη καὶ περὶ ἑαυτὴν διέπεσε καθάπερ τῶν σωμάτων τὰ τηκεδόνι παραδοθέντα μακρᾷ καὶ μηδενὸς αὐτὰ βλάπτοντος αὐτόματα φθείρεται καὶ διαλυθέντα κατὰ μικρὸν ἀφανίζεται. Ὥστε εἰ καὶ μὴ τέλεον ὁ σατανικὸς οὗτος ἐξήλειπται γέλως ἀπὸ τῆς

9ss cf Aug Ep 185 et AFliche & VMartin Histoire de l'eglise 3,176ss de legibus contra paganos a Christianis promulgatis

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PDACW VH OELSMGR 1 ἐπεδειξάμεθα· οὔτε om H καὶ: κατὰ W
4 τῆς ante τοῦ VH 5 σκολήκων AC μέσον: μέστον C ut vid
8 ἡμέτερα: ὑμέτερα G τοιαῦτα. . .ὑμέτερα om GR 9 αὐτοῖς
PDA VH OELSMGR οὐδεὶς om W οὐδέποτε: οὐδὲ πώποτε OL
10 καὶ ante πειθοῖ om OL καὶ post λόγῳ om M 10s λόγῳ καὶ
προσηνείᾳ: λόγων προσηνίᾳ OEG 11 προσήνει SR 12 ἔθηκε post
δόγματα VH 13 θεραπέοντες P θεραπεύοντες V OLSMGR forte recte
θεράποντες E θεραπεύαντες W 15 post Ἑλληνικῆς add νίκης M
16 ἑαυτὴν: αὐτὴν H 16s τὰ τηκεδόνι τῶν σωμάτων W 17 ἃ ante
καὶ add V OES καὶ: ἃ G ἑτέρου post βλάπτοντος add VH
OLMGR 18 διαφθείρεται OEMG forte recte 19 γέλως ἐξήλειπται
VH OELSMGR

γῆς, ἀλλ' ἱκανά γε τὰ ἤδη γενόμενα πιστώσασθαι καὶ ὑπὲρ τῶν μελλόντων ὑμᾶς.

14 Τοῦ γὰρ πλείονος καθαιρεθέντος ἐν οὕτω χρόνῳ βραχεῖ περὶ τοῦ λειπομένου οὐδεὶς φιλονεικήσει λοιπόν. Οὐδὲ γὰρ πόλεως ἁλούσης καὶ τειχῶν κατενεχθέντων καὶ βουλευτηρίων καὶ θεάτρων καὶ περιπάτων κατακαυθέντων καὶ τῶν ἐν ἡλικίᾳ πάντων ἀνῃρημένων στοάς τις ἰδὼν ἡμικαύστους καὶ οἰκιῶν ὀλίγων ἑστῶτα μέρη καὶ γραίδια μετὰ παιδίων μικρῶν ἀμφισβητήσειε τῷ νικήσαντι καὶ περιγενομένῳ τοῦ πλείονος ὡς οὐ δυναμένῳ κατεργάσασθαι τὸ περιλειφθέν. 'Αλλ' οὐ τά γε τῶν ἁλιέων τοιαῦτα, ἀλλὰ καθ' ἑκάστην ἀνθεῖ τὴν ἡμέραν· καὶ ταῦτα οὐ δι' εὐρυχωρίας τινὸς καὶ ἀνέσεως εἰς τὸν ἡμέτερον εἰσαχθέντα βίον ἀλλὰ διὰ θλίψεως καὶ πολέμων καὶ μάχης.

15 Ὁ μὲν γὰρ Ἑλληνισμὸς πανταχοῦ τῆς γῆς ἐκταθεὶς καὶ τὰς ἁπάντων ἀνθρώπων ψυχὰς κατασχὼν οὕτως ὕστερον μετὰ τὴν τοσαύτην ἰσχὺν καὶ τὴν ἐπίδοσιν ὑπὸ τῆς τοῦ Χριστοῦ κατελύθη δυνάμεως· τὸ δὲ κήρυγμα τὸ ἡμέτερον οὐ μετὰ τὸ διαδοθῆναι πανταχοῦ καὶ στῆναι βεβαίως ἔσχε τοὺς πολεμοῦντας, ἀλλὰ πρὶν ἢ παγῆναι καὶ φυτευθῆναι ἐν ταῖς τῶν ἀκουόντων ψυχαῖς ἐξ αὐτῶν τῶν προοιμίων πρὸς ἅπασαν ἠναγκάζετο

BPDACW VH OESMG v 2 ὑμᾶς: ἡμᾶς W G 5 βουλευτηρίου H 7 οἰκιῶν: οἱ βιῶν G 8 ὀλίγων. . .μικρῶν om E καὶ γραίδια μετὰ παιδίων: καὶ γραιδίων καὶ παιδίων BPDACV μετὰ γραιδίων καὶ παιδίων Mv καὶ γραίδια καὶ παιδία e veterrimis conicimus 10 περιληφθὲν W 11s ἀλλὰ. . .ταῦτα om E 12 οὐ δι': οὐδὲ W 13 εἰσαχθέντων G^c θλίψεων PD VH 14 ante πανταχοῦ add ἑστὰ W ἐκτιθεὶς H et ut vid O^m 15 οὗτος W 16 τὴν ante τοσαύτην om W 17 δυνάμεως κατελύθε W 18 βεβαιός O βεβαίως: γενναίως SM ἔσχε ex εἶχε D^c 19 τῶν om W OE παρατάττεσθαι τὴν οἰκουμένην· "Πρὸς τὰς ἀρχάς, πρὸς τὰς ἐξουσίας, πρὸς τοὺς κοσμοκράτορας τοῦ σκότους τοῦ αἰῶνος τούτου, πρὸς τὰ πνευματικὰ τῆς πονηρίας." Οὕτω γὰρ τοῦ σπινθῆρος τῆς πίστεως ἀφθέντος καλῶς ποταμοὶ καὶ ἄβυσσοι πάντοθεν ἐπέρρεον. Ἴστε δὲ δήπου ὡς οὐκ ἔστιν ἴσον τὸ μυρίοις ἔτεσι ῥιζωθὲν ἀνασπάσαι φυτὸν καὶ τὸ ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς ἄρτι τεθέν. Ἀλλὰ καὶ τούτων οὕτως ἐχόντων ἐπέκλυζε μὲν ἔτι μικρὸν ὄντα τὸν σπινθῆρα ὡς ἔφην τῆς εὐσεβείας τὸ τῶν ἐναντίων πέλαγος, ὁ δὲ οὐ μόνον οὐκ ἐσβέννυτο τούτῳ, ἀλλὰ καὶ μείζων γινόμενος καὶ φαιδρότερος πάντα ἐπῄει ταχέως τὰ μὲν τῶν ἐχθρῶν καταλύων καὶ ἀναλίσκων εὐκόλως τὰ δὲ τῶν οἰκείων ἀνιστῶν καὶ πρὸς ὕψος ἄφατον αἴρων καίτοι ἀνδρῶν εὐτελῶν καὶ ἀσήμων ὑπηρετησαμένων αὐτῷ.

16 Τὸ δὲ αἴτιον οὐκ ἦν τῶν ἁλιέων ἐκείνων οὔτε τὰ ῥήματα οὔτε τὰ θαύματα ἀλλὰ τῆς εἰς αὐτοὺς ἐνεργούσης δυνάμεως τοῦ Χριστοῦ. Τῶν γὰρ ταῦτα ἐργασαμένων ὁ μὲν ἦν σκηνοποιὸς (ὁ Παῦλος) ὁ Πέτρος δὲ ἁλιεὺς καὶ οὐκ ἂν οὕτως εὐτελέσι καὶ ταπεινοῖς πλάσαι τι τοιοῦτον ἐπῆλθέ ποτε πλὴν εἰ μαίνεσθαί τις αὐτοὺς φαίη καὶ παραπαίειν. Ὅτι δὲ οὐκ ἐμαίνοντο δῆλον ἐξ ὧν εἰπόντες κατώρθωσαν καὶ ἐκ τῶν ἔτι καὶ νῦν πειθομένων αὐτοῖς. Οὐκ ἂν οὖν ποτε τοιαῦτα ἐψεύσαντο οὐδὲ ἐκόμπασαν ἁπλῶς. Καὶ γὰρ ὅπερ ἀρχόμενος ἔφην· ὁ μέλλων ἐξαπατᾶν ψεύδεται μὲν ψεύδεται δὲ οὐχ οὕτως ὡς πᾶσι γενέσθαι καταφανής.

1ss Eph 6.12   14 cf Eusebius HE 9,9,5   15 Paulus et Petrus coniuncti in 1 Clem 5,1ss   15s cf Act Ap 18.3   16 cf Matt 4.18

BDACW(ad p 12,22 οὔ[τως] term W) VH OELSMGR v   2 τοῦ κοσμοκράτορος G   -τερος R   4 ἀφθέντος in ἀναθ- S^{*} ἀφέντος G   4s ἀπέρρεον W   post ἐπέρρεον add πολέμων VH OLMR   5 δὲ om OL   6 τῆς om W   τεθέν: ταχθὲν W   7 ἀπέκλυζε A   μικρὸν ὄντα om B   8 ἔφην: ἔφθην V   ἔφθην εἰπὼν OELSGR   9 τοῦτο D   γενόμενος AW VH ELSMRv et e γινόμενος D^{c} φαιδρότερος: σφοδρότερος S   10 ἐπῄει: ἐποίει W G   ἔπνει Morel   τῶν om E   ἀναλυωνίσκων W^{c} 12 αὐτό C   18 φαίη: φαίνη M   παραπαίην W^{c} παραπαίξειν G   19 κατόρθωσαν ACW   καὶ ante νῦν om ACV   20 post ἁπλῶς add καὶ G^{m} 22 οὕτως: οὔ W   ὡς: ὥστε OLMGR

17 Εἰ γὰρ καὶ τῶν πραγμάτων ἐκβεβηκότων καὶ τοσούτων μαρτυρούντων τῷ τέλει, τῶν τε ἐν ἐκείνοις πιστευσάντων τοῖς χρόνοις καὶ τῶν ἐξ ἐκείνου πανταχοῦ ταῦτα ᾀδόντων, οὐ παρ᾽ ἡμῖν μόνον ἀλλὰ καὶ παρὰ βαρβάροις καὶ τοῖς ἐκείνων μᾶλλον ἐκτεθηριωμένοις, ὅμως εἰσί τινες, μετὰ τοσαῦτα τεκμήρια καὶ τῆς οἰκουμένης ἁπάσης ὡς εἰπεῖν τὴν μαρτυρίαν, οἳ διαπιστοῦσι τοῖς γεγενημένοις--καὶ πολλοὶ οὕτως ἀβασανίστος καὶ ἀνεξετάστως--τίς ἂν παρὰ τὴν ἀρχὴν μήτε πράγματα θεασάμενος μήτε μαρτυρίας ἀξιοπίστους τούτων ἔχων ταύτην ἂν τὴν πίστιν ἐδέξατο τῇ ψυχῇ; Τί δαὶ ὅλως καὶ ἐξεπῆρε πλάσαι καὶ συνθεῖναί τι τοιοῦτον αὐτούς;

18 Οὔτε γὰρ λόγων ἰσχύι--πῶς γὰρ ὢν θάτερος οὐδὲ γράμματα ὅλως ἠπίστατο;--οὔτε χρημάτων ἐθάρρουν περιουσίᾳ καὶ γὰρ τῆς ἀναγκαίας μόλις εὐπόρουν τροφῆς ἀπὸ τῆς τῶν χειρῶν τεχνῆς διαζῶντες ἀμφότεροι. Ἀλλ᾽ οὐδὲ ἐπὶ γένους λαμπρότητι παρῆν αὐτοῖς μεγαλοφρονεῖν· τοῦ μὲν γὰρ οὐδὲ τὸν πατέρα ἴσμεν

4s barbaros significare Persas et Armenios confirmat JPalanque in Fliche-Martin Histoire de l'église 3,489 12ss de παιδεία et εὐγένεια laudationis funebris topois cf Demos 60,27 12 Silvanus Petri primam epistulam scripsit: 1 Pe 5,12 sed plurimi Iudaei tempore Domini Nostri legere poterant: cf Luc 1.63, 16.6; Io 8.6 de Pauli eloquentia videas 2 Cor 11.6 et audi illum exponentem eloquentiam Christianis idoneam in 1 Cor 13.1: Ἐὰν ταῖς γλώσσαις τῶν ἀνθρώπων λαλῶ καὶ τῶν ἀγγέλων, ἀγάπην δὲ μὴ ἔχω, γέγονα χαλκὸς ἠχῶν ἢ κύμβαλον ἀλαλάζον.

BPDAC VH OELSMGR v 2 τε om SM ἐν om OE 5s ὅμως. . .οἰκουμένης ut vid E^{m} 6 ὡς εἰπεῖν ἁπάσης PAC VH Sv 8 ἀνεξετάστος O 9 μαρτυρία G 10 ὅλως καὶ: καὶ ὅλως OE καὶ ante ἐξεπῆρεν om B L ἐπῆρε PDAC VH OELSMGRv cf Iul Or 1,19b (ed Bidez) δαὶ: δὲ BPDAC OELSMGRv 10s πλάσασθαι τι καὶ συνθεῖναι VH forte recte 11 αὐτοῖς GR 12 ὢν θάτερος: ἅτερος L οὐδὲ: οὔτε B PDAC LSMv 13 ἐθάρσουν G 14 μόλις e μόγης D^{c} 16 μέγα φρονεῖν BPD VH OELSMGRv

ὅστις ἦν οὕτως ἦν ἄσημος καὶ ἀφανής, τοῦ Πέτρου δὲ δῆλος μὲν
ἐστιν ὁ πατὴρ, τοσοῦτον δὲ ἔχει θατέρου πλέον ὅσον τὴν προσηγορίαν
αὐτοῦ γνώριμον ἡμῖν ἐποίησαν αἱ Γραφαὶ μόνον καὶ
τοῦτο διὰ τὸν υἱόν. Εἰ δὲ καὶ χώραν τις καὶ ἔθνος ἐξετάζειν
βούλοιτο τὸν μὲν Κίλικα εὑρήσει τὸν δὲ πόλεως ἀσημοῦ πολίτην
μᾶλλον δὲ οὐδὲ πόλεως ἀλλὰ κώμης τῆς ἐσχάτης, ἀπὸ Βηθσαιδὰ
γὰρ (τῆς Γαλιλαίας δέ ἐστι χωρίον οὕτως καλούμενον ἐξ ἧς
ὁ μακάριος ἐκεῖνος ἦν). Καὶ τὰς τέχνας δέ τις αὐτῶν ἀκούσας
ὄψεται οὐδὲν μέγα ἐχούσας καὶ σεμνόν· τοῦ μὲν γὰρ ἁλιέως ὁ
σκηνοποιὸς τιμιώτερος τῶν δὲ ἄλλων χειροτεχνῶν εὐτελέστερος.

19 Πόθεν οὖν, εἰπέ μοι, πόθεν πρᾶγμα τοσοῦτον ὑποκρίνασθαι
ἐτόλμησαν; Ποίαις ἐπαρθέντες ἐλπίσι; Τίνι θαρρήσαντες; Ἆρα
τῷ καλάμῳ καὶ τῷ ἀγκίστρῳ ἢ τῇ σμίλῃ καὶ τῷ τρυπάνῳ; Οὐκ ἀπελθόντες
ἀπάγξεσθέ που ἢ καὶ κατακρημνίσετε ἑαυτοὺς τοσαύτην
ὀφλισκάνοντες ἄνοιαν;

IV 20 Θῶμεν δὲ εἰ βούλεσθε καθ' ὑμᾶς καὶ τὸ ἀδύνατον τοῦτο
γενέσθαι δυνατὸν, καὶ τὸν μὲν ἀπὸ τῆς λίμνης ἀνελθόντα λέγειν
ὅτι ἡ σκιὰ τοῦ σώματος τοῦ ἐμοῦ νεκροὺς ἀνέστησε, τὸν δὲ 539

1s cf Io 1.42 4s cf Gorgias FdV 2,287,7 & 9 5 cf Act Ap 22.3
5ss cf Io 1.44 9s cf Act Ap 18.3, Matt 4.20 18 cf Act Ap 5.15

BPDAC VH OELSMGR v 1 οὕτως ἦν om AC 2 ἐστιν om H 3 ἑαυτοῦ GR 6 οὐδὲ: οὐ OGR ἀλλὰ om M Βηδσαιδα BAC Βηθισαιδὰ G 7 Γαληλαίας A ἐξ ἧς in ras O et om E οὕτω PAC VH OELSMGRv 9 μέγαν G ἐχοῦσαι M καὶ: οὐδὲ OE ἀλιός O ὁ om D 10 post χειροτεχνῶν add καὶ AC 11 μοι D^m ἀποκρίνεσθαι GR 13 τριπάνῳ E 14 ἀπάξασθαί ξ in ras B ἀπάγξασθαί G καὶ om A κατακρημνίσαι BA et -σαιε C C 16 βούλεσθαι E 16s τοῦτο γενέσθαι δυνατὸν om E

ἐκπηδήσαντα τῶν τοῦ σκηνορραφείου δέρρεων τὰ αὐτὰ δὴ ταῦτα κομπάζειν ἐκείνῳ περὶ τῶν ἱματίων αὐτοῦ. Τίς οὕτως ἐμεμήνει τῶν ταῦτα ἀκουόντων ὡς ψιλοῖς ῥήμασι πιστεῦσαι περὶ πραγμάτων τοιούτων; Διὰ τί δὲ μηδεὶς ἐκείνων τῶν χρόνων χειροτέχνης ἀνὴρ εἶπέ τι περὶ ἑαυτοῦ τοιοῦτόν ποτε ἢ ἕτερός τις περὶ αὐτοῦ; Καίτοι εἰ τὰ ἡμέτερα πλάσματα ἦν τοὺς μετ' ἐκείνους εὐκολώτερον τὰ τοιαῦτα ψεύδεσθαι εἰκὸς ἦν. Ἐκεῖνοι μὲν γὰρ οὐκ εἶχον εἰς ἑτέρους ἀνενεγκόντες ὑπὲρ τούτων ἐλπίσαι τοῦ πράγματος περιέσεσθαι, οἱ δὲ μετ' ἐκείνους εἰς ἐκείνους ὁρῶντες προχειρότερον ἂν τοῦ πλάσματος κατετόλμησαν τοῦ παραδείγματος τῶν προτέρων τοῖς δευτέροις παρακελευομένου θαρρεῖν ὡς οὐδενὸς ἐν τῇ γῇ νοῦν ἔχοντος ἀλλὰ πάντων ἐξεστηκότων καὶ μεμηνότων, καὶ τοῖς βουλομένοις ἐξὸν ἅπασιν ἅπερ ἂν θέλωσι περὶ ἑαυτῶν λέγειν τε καὶ πιστεύεσθαι.

21 Λῆρος ταῦτα καὶ γέλως καὶ μωρίας Ἑλληνικῆς ῥήματα. Καθάπερ γὰρ ἂν εἴ τις προαχθείη τοξεύειν τὸν οὐρανὸν ὡς διαρρήξων αὐτὸν τοῖς αὐτοῦ βέλεσιν ἢ τὸν ὠκεανὸν ἐξαντλεῖν ὡς κενώσων αὐτὸν ταῖς ἑαυτοῦ χερσὶν οὐδεὶς ὅστις οὐ γελάσεται τῶν ἀστειοτέρων αὐτόν, οἱ δὲ σεμνότεροι καὶ δακ-

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17s cf Pind O 9,8; P 4,289s; 10,27 19s cf Heraclit FdV 1,190,16 20s cf Democr FdV 2,94,43

BPDAC VH OELSMGR v 1 σκηνοραφίου DC σκηνορραφίου E δερρῶν BC 3 πιστεύσε E πιστεύσεις G 4 δὲ om E ἐκείνων τῶν χρόνων: τῶν κατ' ἐκεῖνον τὸν χρόνον PVH OELSMGRv 5s τοιοῦτόν. . .αὐτοῦ M^{m} 6 ἑαυτοῦ O 8 μὲν om E εἰς om E 9 πράγματος: e πλάσ- B^{c} πράγ[ματος] P πλάσματος OMv οἱ δὲ: οὐδὲ G 14 καὶ ante περὶ add E ἐθέλωσι V OSG αὐτῶν ACH S 17 προαχθειν A 19 καινώσων AC αὐτοῦ VH post οὐδεὶς add ἔσται VH ESMG ὅστις om AC et ὥς τις G

ῥύσονται δάκρυσι πολλοῖς, οὕτως ὅταν ἡμῖν Ἕλληνες ἀντιλέγωσι γελᾶν αὐτοὺς καὶ δακρύειν καλόν· πολλῷ γὰρ τοῦ τὸν οὐρανὸν τρώσειν ἐλπίζοντος καὶ τὴν ἄβυσσον κενώσειν ἀπορωτέροις ἐπιχειροῦσι πράγμασιν. Οὔτε γὰρ τὸ φῶς ἔσται σκότος ποτὲ ἕως ἂν ᾖ φῶς οὔτε ἡ τῶν παρ' ἡμῖν πραγμάτων ἀλήθεια διελεγχθήσεται· ἀλήθεια γάρ ἐστι ταύτης δὲ ἰσχυρότερον οὐδέν.

22 Ὅτι μὲν οὖν καὶ τὰ ἀρχαῖα ἃ ἀκοῇ ἴσμεν τῶν παρόντων καὶ ὁρωμένων οὐχ ἧττόν ἐστι πιστὰ πᾶς ὁστισοῦν μὴ παραπαίων καὶ ἐξεστηκὼς ὁμολογήσειεν ἄν· ἵνα δὲ καὶ ἐκ περιουσίας τὴν νίκην ἀρώμεθα βούλομαι καὶ ἐπὶ τῆς ἡμετέρας γενεᾶς γενόμενόν τι παράδοξον εἰπεῖν. Ἀλλὰ μὴ θορυβηθῆτε εἰ θαῦμα ὑποσχόμενος ἐρεῖν ἐφ' ἡμῶν γεγονὸς εἶτα ἐκ παλαιᾶς ἱστορίας ἄρχομαι τοῦ διηγήματος ὑφαίνειν τὴν ἀρχήν. Οὔτε γὰρ μέχρις ἐκείνων στήσομαι μόνον οὔτε ἀλλότρια τῆς νέας ὑποθέσεως ἐρῶ τὰ παλαιά· ἀλλήλων γὰρ ἑκάτερα ἔχεται καὶ διαζευχθῆναι τὴν ἀκολουθίαν αὐτῶν οὐκ ἔνι. Εἴσεσθε δὲ καλῶς αὐτῶν τῶν πραγμάτων ακούσαντες.

V 23 Ἐγένετό τις βασιλεὺς ἐπὶ τῶν προγόνων τῶν ἡμετέρων, καὶ τὰ μὲν ἄλλα ὁποῖός τις ἦν οὗτος ὁ βασιλεὺς οὐκ ἔχω

4s cf 2 Cor 6.14b, Io 1.5   19ss Chrysostomum solam narrationis medullam ad mores docendos aptam praebere adfirmat Photius Bibl 172-174 (PG 103,505A)   de rege ignoto cf PPeeters AB 48 (1930) 307-309, 311-312

BPDACH OELMG v   2 αὐτοῖς E   3 ἐλπίζοντος post κενώσειν BPv   κενῶσιν AC   3s ἀπορρωτέροις D   6 διελεχθήσεται G   9 μὴ: καὶ H   13 ἐρεῖν: εἰπεῖν D   15 στήσομαι μόνον om A   17 ἴσεσεθε C   εἴσεσθαι EM   19 Νυμε[ριανοῦ] λαβόντος πρὸ Διοκλητιανοῦ [ ]λον ἅγ[ιος] Βαβύλας τῆς ἐκκλη[σίας] ἐξέβαλεν D^{m} Νουμεριανός O^{m}L^{m} et – ὸν E^{m}

λέγειν, τὸ δὲ ἄγος ὅπερ ἐτόλμησεν ἀκούσαντες εἴσεσθε καὶ
περὶ τῆς λοιπῆς τῶν τρόπων ὠμότητος. Τί οὖν τὸ ἄγος ἦν;
Ἔδοξεν ἔθνει τινὶ τῶν ἐκείνῳ πολεμούντων τῷ βασιλεῖ καταλῦσαι
τὸν πόλεμον καὶ μήτε ἑτέρους κόπτειν μήτε αὐτοὺς ὑπὸ
ἑτέρων κόπτεσθαι τοῦ λοιποῦ, ἀλλὰ πραγμάτων μὲν ἀπηλλάχθαι
καὶ κινδύνων καὶ φόβων στέργειν δὲ τοῖς ὑπάρχουσι καὶ μηδὲν
πλέον τῶν ὄντων ἐπιζητεῖν· κρεῖττον γὰρ εἶναι μετὰ ἀφοβίας
ἀπολαύειν μετρίων ἢ τοῦ πλείνος ἐφιεμένους δεδοικέναι καὶ
τρέμειν ἀεὶ καὶ κατὰ αὐτούς τε ἑτέροις διδόντας καὶ παρ' ἑτέρων
λαμβάνοντας ζῆν.

24 Δόξαν δὴ καταθέσθαι τὸν πόλεμον καὶ τὸν ἀπράγμονα βίον
ζῆν ἔδοξεν ἰσχυρῷ τινι θεσμῷ καὶ ὅροις ἀσφαλέσι τοῦτο καταδῆσαι
τὸ καλόν, καὶ ποιησάμενοι συνθήκας καὶ λαβόντες ὅρκους
καὶ δόντες ἐκ περιουσίας ἐπεχείρουν πείθειν τὸν βασιλέα τὸν
αὐτῶν τὸν υἱὸν τὸν αὐτοῦ—παιδίον δὲ ἦν κομιδῇ—τῆς εἰρήνης
ἐνέχυρον καταθέντα ἀσφαλές, τοῖς τε πρότερον πολεμίοις οὖσι
παρέχειν θαρρεῖν τῆς τε οἰκείας γνώμης μαρτύριον ἐξενεγκεῖν
ὡς ἀδόλως τὴν εἰρήνην πεποιημένου πρὸς αὐτούς. Καὶ ταῦτα 540
λέγοντες ἔπεισαν καὶ ἐξέδωκε τὸν υἱὸν ὁ βασιλεὺς ὡς μὲν αὐτὸς
ᾤετο τοῖς φίλοις καὶ συμμάχοις, ὡς δὲ τὸ τέλος ἔδειξε τῷ

11ss Chrysostomi narratio forte recolit Eur Iph Aul 1540ss unde pueri caedem ad sacrificii similitudinem fictam putamus

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BPDAC VH OELSMGR v 1 ἴσεσθε DC 2 τρόπων: πραγμάτων GR 3 ἔδοξαν E ἐν ante ἐκείνῳ add H 5 ἑτέρον E 6 φόβον E μηδὲν: δὲν E μὴ δὲ G 7 ἀφοβίας: ἀσφαλείας forte ut glossam S 9 αὐτούς τε ἑτέροις: αὐτοῖς τε καὶ ἑτέροις PDAV OELSMGv αὐτοῖς τε καὶ ἑτέροις CH R αὐτοῖς καὶ ἑτέροις DA 9s ἑτέρων: ἑτέροις SM 11 δὴ: δὲ ELR 12 ἰσχυρωτερῷ E ὅροις: ὅρκοις EL et κ supraser O 14s τὸν αὐτῶν τὸν υἱὸν τὸν: τούτον αὐτοῦ υἱὸν G τὸν αὐτῶν: τοῦ αὐτὸν H SM αὐτῶν: τοῦ R 15 αὐτῶν: αὐτὸν V τὸν ante αὐτοῦ om OELR αὐτοῦ: αὐτοῦ BPDA OELSv 16 προτέροις OEL 19 ἐξέδω AC αὐτὸς om GR πάντων ἀπηνεστάτῳ θηρίῳ. Λαβὼν γὰρ νόμῳ φιλίας καὶ συνθηκῶν τὸ παιδίον ἐκεῖνο τὸ βασιλικὸν πάντα ὁμοῦ κατεπάτησε καὶ ἀνέτρεψε τοὺς ὅρκους,τὰς συνθήκας, τὴν πρὸς ἀνθρώπους αἰδῶ, τὴν πρὸς τὸ θεῖον εὐλάβειαν,τὸν ἀπὸ τῆς ἡλικίας ἔλεον.

25 Καὶ οὔτε ἡ νεότης τὸ θηρίον ἐπέκαμψεν οὔτε ἡ παρεπομένη τοῖς τοιούτοις μιάσμασι δίκη τὸν ἄγριον ἐκεῖνον ἐφόβησεν οὔτε τὰ τοῦ παρακαταθεμένου πατρὸς αὐτὸν εἰσῆλθε ῥήματα ἅπερ ἐκεῖνος τὸν υἱὸν ἐγχειρίζων ἴσως ἐπέσκηπτεν ἐν ἐπιμελείᾳ τε αὐτὸν ἔχειν ἀξιῶν πολλῇ καὶ πατέρα αὐτὸν ἐπιφημίζων τῷ παιδὶ καὶ ὡς αὐτὸν γεγεννηκότα οὕτω τρέφειν καὶ παιδεύειν παρακαλῶν καὶ τῆς τῶν οἰκείων προγόνων εὐγενείας ἄξιον ἀποφαίνειν, καὶ μετὰ τούτων τῶν ῥημάτων τὴν δεξιὰν τοῦ παιδὸς τῇ δεξιᾷ τοῦ φονέως ἐντιθεὶς καὶ μετὰ δακρύων διαλυόμενος. Τούτων οὐδὲν εἰς νοῦν ὁ μιαρὸς ἐκεῖνος ἐβάλετο, ἀλλὰ πάντα ῥίψας ἀθρόως ἀπὸ τῆς ψυχῆς τὸν φόνον ἐκεῖνον τὸν πάντων ἐναγέστατον τῶν φόνων ἐργάζεται. Τοῦτο γὰρ καὶ παιδοκτονίας χεῖρον τὸ μίασμα, καὶ μάρτυρες ὑμεῖς οἱ οὐκ ἂν οὕτως ἀλγήσαντες (εἴπερ τοῖς ἐμοῖς πάθεσι καὶ τὰ ὑμέτερα στοχάζεσθαι χρή) εἰ τὸν υἱὸν ὅτι κατέσφαξεν ἠκούσατε τὸν ἑαυτοῦ. Τότε μὲν γὰρ μετὰ τῶν κοινῶν νόμων καὶ οἱ φύσεως ἐδόκουν ἀνατετράφθαι θεσμοί, ἐνταῦθα δὲ πολλὰ ὁμοῦ συνδεδράμηκεν καὶ τῆς φυσικῆς ἀνάγκης ἰσχυρότερα τῷ πλήθει γίνεται.

BPDAC VH OELSMGR 4 ἔλαιον EL 5s δίκη post παρεπομένη H
6 οὔτε: οὐ OESGR 7 τοῦ παρακαταθεμένου: παρὰ τοῦ καταθεμένου
H αὐτὸν om OE εἰσῆλθε om E 10 αὐτὸν: τὸν E οὕτως P
11 οἰκείων: ἐκείνων G εὐγενείας: εὐγενίας E εὐμενείας
ACV εὐδενείας R 12 ῥημάτων: ῥητῶν H 13 φονέος O
13s ἐκεῖνος post οὐδὲν G 14 μιαρὸς: μίκρος G ἐβάλλετο D
ἀθρόον OEL 15 τῆς om E 17 ὑμεῖς: ἡμεῖς E ἠλγήσατε PVH
OELSMG 18 εἰ: ἢ G 18s ὅτι post εἰ OEL 19 ὅτι om SGR
αὐτοῦ BAC Τότε: τὸ GR 20 ἃ ante καὶ add BVH OELSMGR

26 Ὅταν γὰρ ἐννοήσω τὸ μειράκιον τὸ μηδὲν ἠδικηκός, τὸ παρὰ τοῦ πατρὸς ἐκδοθέν, τὸ τῶν προγονικῶν βασιλείων ἀποσπασθὲν καὶ ἐν οἰκίᾳ τρυφῆς καὶ δόξης καὶ τιμῆς ἀλλαξάμενον τὴν ἐν ἀλλοτρίᾳ διαγωγὴν ἵνα ἐξῇ τῷ μιαρῷ θαρρεῖν ἐκείνῳ περὶ τῶν συνθηκῶν, εἶτα ὑπὸ αὐτοῦ κατεργασθὲν καὶ τῶν οἴκοι λαμπρῶν δι' αὐτὸν ἀποστερηθὲν καὶ ὑπ' αὐτοῦ πάλιν ἀποσφαχθέν, ἐναντίον τι πάσχω πάθος τηκόμενός τε ὁμοῦ τὴν ψυχὴν καὶ ἐξοιδῶν τὸ μὲν τοῦ θυμοῦ τὸ δὲ τῆς ἀθυμίας ἐργαζομένης. Ὅταν μὲν γὰρ ἐννοήσω τὸν μιαρὸν ἐκεῖνον ὁπλιζόμενον καὶ τὸ ξίφος ἀνατείνοντα καὶ τὴν δειρὴν κατέχοντα τοῦ παιδὸς καὶ τὴν δεξιὰν ᾗ τὴν παρακαταθήκην ἐδέξατο ταύτῃ κατ' αὐτῆς ὠθοῦντα τὸ ξίφος διαρρήγνυμαι καὶ ἀποπνίγομαι τῷ θυμῷ. Ὅταν δὲ πάλιν ἴδω τὸν νέον δεδοικότα καὶ τρέμοντα καὶ οἰμώττοντα τὰς ἐσχάτας οἰμωγὰς καὶ τὸν πατέρα ἀνακαλοῦντα καὶ τούτων αἴτιον αὐτὸν γεγενῆσθαι λέγοντα καὶ τὴν σφαγὴν οὐ τῷ βαπτίζοντι τὸ ξίφος εἰς τὸν λαιμὸν ἀλλὰ τῷ γεγεννηκότι λογιζόμενον καὶ μὴ δυνάμενον ἐκφυγεῖν μη-

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lss Chrysostomus, eos qui legunt incendens, ardere videtur sec Ciceronem in libro II,45 De oratore: "neque fieri potest ut doleat is qui audit, ut oderit, ut invideat, ut pertimescat aliquid, ut ad fletum misericordiamque deducatur, nisi omnes illi motus, quos orator adhibere volet iudici, in ipso oratore impressi esse atque inusti videbuntur."

BPDAC VH OELSMGR v 3 ἐν οἰκίᾳ: ἐν οἰκείᾳ OL ἐν οἴκῳ R τῆς οἰκείας BPDAC EMGv τῆς ἐν οἰκίᾳ conicere licet 4 ἀλλοτρίῳ H ἐκείνῳ θαρρεῖν OEL 6 αὐτὸν: αὐτῶν BC R πάλιν post καὶ VH ἀποσφαγὲν VH OELSMGRv 7 ἐξυδῶν E inter τὸ et μὲν add δὲ eras H 8 μὲν om S 10 δέρην ES δέριν MG 11 ἐδέξαντο AC κατ': καὶ D 13 οἰμώζοντα PDC VH OELSMGRv τὰς: ταῖς EL 14 ἀνακαλούμενον D^c τοῦτον DH 15 οὐ τῷ: οὕτω G ξύφος G post ξίφος add διαρρήγνυμαι. . .θ[υμῷ] (p19, [illegible]) eras H λαμ[.]ὸν A λαμιὸν C 16 μηδὲ: μήτ' P et μὴ BAC VH

δὲ ἐπαμῦναι ἑαυτῷ ἀλλ' ἀνήνυτα λοιπὸν τῷ φυσαμένῳ μεμφόμενον
καὶ δεχόμενον τὴν πληγὴν καὶ σπαίροντα καὶ λακτίζοντα τοὔδαφος
καὶ τὴν γῆν τοῖς τῶν αἱμάτων μολύνοντα κρουνοῖς διακόπτομαι
τὰ σπλάγχνα καὶ σκοτοῦμαι τὸν λογισμὸν καί μου τις ἄχλυς ἀθυμίας
καταχεῖται τοῖς ὀφθαλμοῖς.

27 Ἀλλ' οὐχ ὁ θὴρ ἐκεῖνος ἔπαθέ τι τοιοῦτον οὐδὲν, ἀλλ'
ὥσπερ τινὰ ἀρνίον καταθύειν μέλλων ἢ μόσχον οὕτω διετέθη πρὸς
τὴν μιαρὰν ἐκείνην σφαγήν. Καὶ ὁ μὲν παῖς ἔκειτο νεκρὸς δεξάμενος
τὴν πληγὴν ὁ δὲ σφαγεὺς ἐπηγωνίζετο τῷ μιάσματι τοῖς δευτέροις
τὰ πρότερα ἀποκρύψαι φιλονεικῶν. Τάχα μέ τις εἴεταί τι
περὶ τῆς ταφῆς ἐρεῖν, καὶ ὅτι μετὰ τὴν σφαγὴν οὐδὲ βραχείας τῷ
φονευθέντι μετέδωκε γῆς. Ἐγὼ δέ τι τούτου τολμηρότερον ἕτερον
ἐρῶ. Τὰς γὰρ ἀνόμους χεῖρας ἐκείνας τοιούτῳ μολύνας αἵματι καὶ
τὴν καινὴν ἐργασάμενος τραγῳδίαν ὡς οὐδὲν ὅλως τετολμηκὼς 541
ὁ ἀναιδὴς καὶ πετρῶν αὐτῶν σκληρότερος πρὸς τὴν ἐκκλησίαν ἠπείγετο
τοῦ θεοῦ.

28 Καὶ ἴσως τινὲς θαυμάζουσι πῶς οὐκ ἐπλήγη θεηλάτῳ πληγῇ
τοιαῦτα τολμῶν ἢ πῶς οὐκ ἀπαφῆκεν αὐτῷ σκηπτὸν ἄνωθεν ὁ Θεὸς
καὶ πρὸ τῆς εἰσόδου τὴν ἀναίσχυντον ὄψιν κατέφλεξε τῷ κεραυνῷ.
Ἐγὼ δὲ εἴ τινες ἔλαβον τοῦτον τὸν λογισμὸν ἐπαινῶ μὲν αὐτοὺς

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17 cf Ier 14.17   18 cf 1 Regn 2.10   19 cf Ps 17.15, 143.6

BPDAC VH OELSMGR v   1 ἀμῦναι poetarum more sed forte recte BAC   2 ἀσπαίροντα BAH OLSRv   ἀσπεροντα E^{c} 3 αἱμάτον E   7 τινὰ ἀρνὸν BP VHv   τινα ἀρνίον D   οὕτως D   10 Τάχα V^{m} μέ: δέ A   15 ἀναιδεις E   17 θηηλάτῳ G et θεη- G$^{m\ \gamma\rho}$ 19 τῷ κεραυνῷ κατέφλεξε VH OELSMGR   20 εἰ om E καὶ θαυμάζω τῆς πυρώσεως λείπειν δὲ αύτῶν ού μικρὸν τῷ θαύματι τούτῳ καὶ τοῖς ἐπαίνοις φημί. Δικαίαν μὲν γὰρ τὴν ἀγανάκτησιν ἔσχον ὑπέρ τε τοῦ ούκ ἐν δίκῃ κατακοπέντος παιδὸς ὑπέρ τε τῶν τοῦ θεοῦ νόμων οὕτως ὑβρισθέντων ἰταμῶς, ἀλλὰ τῷ θυμῷ ζέοντες ού συνεῖδον ὅσον ἰδεῖν ἐχρῆν. Τοῦ γὰρ δικαίου τούτου νόμος ἕτερος ἀνώτερος πολλῷ κεῖται ἐν τοῖς ούρανοῖς.

29 Τίς οὖν ὁ νόμος; Τοῖς ἡμαρτηκόσι μὴ κατὰ πόδας τὴν τιμωρίαν ἐπάγειν, ἀλλά'ἐνδιδόναι τῷ πεπλημμεληκότι χρόνους καὶ προθεσμίαν τὸ πλημμεληθὲν ἀποδόσασθαι, καὶ διὰ τῆς μετανοίας ἐξισωθῆναι τοῖς ούδὲν είργασμένοις δεινόν· ὅπερ καὶ τότε ἐνεδείξατο είς τὸν δείλαιον ἐκεῖνον ὁ θεός. Ἐγίνετο δὲ πλέον ούδὲν ἀλλ' ἔμενεν ἀδιόρθωτος. Ὁ δὲ φιλάνθρωπος καὶ τοῦτο προειδὼς ούδὲ οὕτως ὑπερεῖδεν αύτὸν ούδὲ ἐνέλιπε τὰ παρ' αύτοῦ ποιῶν ἀλλ' αύτὸς μὲν καὶ ἐπεσκόπησε κάμνοντα καὶ τὰ πρὸς ὑγίειαν ἔπραξεν, ἐκεῖνος δὲ ούκ ἠθέλησε τὸ φάρμακον δέξασθαι ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸν ἐπὶ τούτῳ πεμφθέντα συνέκοψεν ἰατρόν. Τὸ δὲ φάρμακον καὶ ὁ τῆς ἰατρείας τρόπος τοιοῦτος ἦν.

5s cf Soph Oed Tyr 863ss 7ss fundamentum scriptuale huius legis de tempore poenitentiae a Deo praebito 2 Pe 3,9

BPDAC VH OELSMGR v 1 καὶ. . .δὲ R^m αύτῶν: αύτοὺς R^m et P OELSMGv αύτῶν ού μικρὸν: ού μικρὸν αύτοὺς VH 3 ἔσχον: ἔχον E ούκ ut vid G^{m2} ὑπέρ τε τοῦ. . .παιδὸς om OEL τε τοῦ: τι τοῦ AC τε τῶν: γε τῶν E 4 οὕτως om H 5 ὅσον ἰδεῖν: ὅσον AC et ὃ συνιδεῖν PVH OELS 6 ἀνώτερος om GR ἀνώτερος πολλῷ: γε πολλῷ δικαιότερος O^mEL κεῖται G^2 9 ante τὸ add ὥστε PD VH OELSMGRv πλημμέληθὲν A πλημεληθὲν E 10s ἐπεδείξατο AVH SGR 12 post φιλάνθρωπος add θεὸς GR 13 ούδὲ οὕτως ὑπερεῖδεν αύτὸν om R αύτὸν ὑπερεῖδεν VH OESM αύτοῦ: ἑαυτοῦ PD OLv 14 ποιῶν om AC καὶ post μὲν bis C ἀπεσκόπησε SMGR 14s ὑγείαν BCH OELS

VI 30 Ἔτυχε κατὰ τὸν καιρὸν ἐκεῖνον καθ' ὃν τὸ ἀπηνὲς τοῦτο δρᾶμα ἐτολμᾶτο καὶ ἐλεεινὸν ἄνδρα τινὰ μέγαν καὶ θαυμαστὸν—εἴ γε δεῖ αὐτὸν ἄνδρα καλεῖν—τῆς ποίμνης ἐπιμελεῖσθαι τῆς παρ' ἡμῖν· Βαβύλας ἦν ὄνομα αὐτῷ. Οὗτος τότε τοῦ Χριστοῦ τὴν ἐκκλησίαν τὴν ἐνθάδε ὑπὸ τῆς τοῦ Πνεύματος χάριτος ἐγχειρισθεὶς τὸν Ἠλίαν καὶ τὸν τούτου ζηλωτὴν τὸν Ἰωάννην παρήλασε μὲν οὐκ ἂν εἴποιμι μὴ καὶ λίαν φορτικὸν τὸ λεγόμενον ᾖ, ἔφθασε δὲ οὕτως ὡς μηδὲ τὸ τυχὸν ἀπολειφθῆναι τῆς ἐλευθερίας τῶν γενναίων ἐκείνων ἀνδρῶν. Οὐ γὰρ τετράρχην πόλεων ὀλίγων οὐδὲ ἑνὸς ἔθνους βασιλέα ἀλλὰ τὸν τὸ πλεῖστον μέρος τῆς οἰκουμένης ἁπάσης κατέχοντα αὐτὸν δὴ τοῦτον τὸν ἀνδροφόνον καὶ πολλὰ μὲν ἔθνη πολλὰς δὲ πόλεις καὶ στρατιὰν ἄπειρον κεκτημένον καὶ πάντοθεν ὄντα φοβερὸν ἀπό τε τῆς τῶν τρόπων θρασύτητος ὡς ἀνδράποδον εὐτελὲς καὶ οὐδενὸς ἄξιον οὕτω τῆς ἐκκλησίας ἐξέβαλε μετὰ τοσαύτης ἀταραξίας καὶ ἀφοβίας μεθ' ὅσης ἂν ποιμὴν πρόβατον ψώρας ἐμπεπλησμένον καὶ νενοσηκὸς τῆς ποίμνης ἀπείρξειε κωλύων εἰς τὰ λοιπὰ διαβῆναι τὴν νόσον τοῦ κάμνοντος.

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3 et 16ss cf Io 10.14, 1 Pe 2.25 4 Babylas episcopus Antiochiae ca 238-249/51: ASS IX Kal Feb n 2; cf Eus EH 6,29,6-7 et 6,39; GDowney A History of Antioch in Syria pp 306-308 6 Chrysostomus Eliam et Ioh Bap coniungens sequitur Matt 11.14, Luc 1.17 ubi Ioh Bap personam Eliae agit 13ss cf CBaur ThQ 90 (1908) 401ss

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BPDAC VH OELSMGR v 4 post Οὗτος add τοίνυν PD VH EMv 6 τοῦτου: ἐκείνου PAC VH OELSGR τὸν Ἰωάννην: τὴν Ἰωάννην E Ἰωαάννην LSG 7 ὅτι ante παρήλασε add PD VH OELSMGRv 7s φόρτικον ante ᾖ V 8 ἔφθασαν G ὑπολειφθῆναι V 10 τὸν om OE τοῦ πλείστου μέρους B 11 ἁπάσης om H EL κατέχοντα: κατάρχοντα OELSGR 12 πολλὰ μὲν ἔθνη om GR 14 post ἄξιον add λόγου PDC VH OELSMGRv 15 ἀταραχίας B^c ἀταραξία ut vid H 17 ἀπήρξειεν A ἀπέρξοι V ἀπείρκοι H OELSMGet οι in ras G λοιπὰ: λυπὰ AC μὴ ante διαβῆναι add H OELSMGR

31 Καὶ ταῦτα ἔπραττεν ἔργῳ τὸν τοῦ Σωτῆρος λόγον βεβαιῶν ὅτι μόνος "δοῦλός ἐστιν ὁ τὴν ἁμαρτίαν ποιῶν," κἂν μυρίους ἐπὶ τῆς κεφαλῆς ἔχῃ στεφάνους, κἂν ἁπάντων δοκῇ τῶν ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς ἀνθρώπων κρατεῖν, ὁ δὲ οὐδὲν ἑαυτῷ συνειδὼς πονηρὸν κἂν ἐν τῇ τῶν ὑπηκόων καταλέγηται τάξει πάντων ἐστὶ βασιλέων βασιλικώτερος. Αὐτίκα γοῦν τὸν ἄρχοντα διέταττεν ὁ ἀρχόμενος καὶ τῷ κρατοῦντι πάντων ἔκρινεν ὁ ὑπήκοος καὶ τὴν καταδικάζουσαν αὐτὸν ψῆφον ἔφερε. Σὺ δὲ ταῦτα ἀκούων μὴ παρέλθῃς τὸ λεχθέν. Ἱκανὸν μὲν γὰρ καὶ αὐτὸ καθ' ἑαυτὸ τοῦτο ἀπαγγελθὲν ὅτι τὸν βασιλέα τῶν τῆς ἐκκλησίας προθύρων ἐξήλασε τῶν ὑπὸ τὴν ἀρχὴν ὄντων τις τὴν αὐτοῦ διαναστῆσαι καὶ ἐκπλῆξαι τὰς τῶν ἀκουόντων ψυχάς.

32 Εἰ δὲ βούλει τὸ θαῦμα ἅπαν καταμαθεῖν ἀκριβῶς μὴ ψιλῷ τῷ ῥήματι πρόσεχε ἀλλ' ὑπόγραφον τοὺς δορυφόρους, τοὺς ὑπασπιστάς, τοὺς στρατηγούς, τοὺς ἄρχοντας--τοὺς ἐν ταῖς βασιλικαῖς αὐλαῖς στρεφομένους, τοὺς ἐπὶ τῶν πόλεων τεταγμένους--τὸν τῦφον τῶν προηγουμένων, τῶν ἑπομένων τῶν σοβούντων τὸ πλῆθος, τὴν ἄλλην θεραπείαν ἅπασαν. Εἶτα αὐτὸν ἐν τῷ μέσῳ μετὰ πολλοῦ μὲν ἐπιβαίνοντα τοῦ φρονήματος σεμνότερον δὲ ἀπὸ τῶν ἱματίων φαινόμενον καὶ ἁλουργίδος καὶ τῶν λίθων τῶν πανταχοῦ διεσπαρμένων κατὰ τὴν δεξιὰν κατὰ τὴν συμβολὴν τῆς χλανίδος, τῶν ἀπὸ τοῦ διαδήματος ἐξ αὐτῆς ἀστραπτόντων τῆς κεφαλῆς.

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1 discrepantia inter verbum factumque locus communis: cf Democr FdV 2,160,82   2 Io 8.34

BPDAC VH OELSMGR v   1 Σωτῆρος: θεοῦ PAC VH OELSMGR   βαιβαιων E^{e} 2 ὅτι. . .ποιῶν G^{m} μόνος om GR   3 ἔχει AC E   3 s τῆς ante γῆς om H   4 αὐτῷ G   5 ὑπηκό[ ]ων C   κατλέγητε G   6 τὸν. . .καὶ om E   7 τὸν κρατοῦντα VH OESMR   τῶν κρατοῦντα G   8 αὐτῶν A   ἔφερει G   τῷ AC   10 ξήλασε E   11 τις. . . ἐκπλῆξαι τὴν om E   τὴν αὐτοῦ: τῶν αὐτοῦ BAC S   11 τὴν. . .ψυχήν

BPDACH OELSMGRv 13 καταλαβεῖν in καταμαθεῖν D^{e} μὴ: καὶ AC   16 στρεφομένους: τρεφομένους BPDA E   τὸν: τῶν B   17 τῶν ἑπομένων om GR   18 θεραπίαν E   20 ἀλλουργίδος E   22 ἀπαστραπτόντων S

33 Καὶ μηδὲ μέχρι τούτου στήσῃς τὴν εἰκόνα, ἀλλ' ἔκτεινον αὐτὴν καὶ ἐπὶ τὸν τοῦ θεοῦ δοῦλον τὸν μακάριον Βαβύλαν καὶ τὸ σχῆμα τὸ ταπεινὸν καὶ ἐπὶ τὴν στολὴν τὴν ἰδιωτικὴν καὶ τὴν συντετριμμένην ψυχὴν καὶ τὸ θράσους ἀπηλλαγμένον φρόνημα καὶ οὕτως ἀμφοτέρους διαγράψας καὶ ἀντιθεὶς τότε γνώσῃ τὸ θαῦμα καλῶς μᾶλλον δὲ οὐδὲ οὕτως ἐπιλήψῃ τῆς ἀκριβείας αὐτῆς. Τὴν γὰρ παρρησίαν ἐκείνην λόγος μὲν οὐδεὶς οὐδὲ ὄψις παραστῆσαι δύναιτ' ἂν ἡ πεῖρα δὲ μόνη καὶ ἡ χρῆσις αὐτῆς. Καὶ τὸ παράστημα τῆς τοῦ γενναίου ψυχῆς μόνος ἐκεῖνος δύναιτ' ἂν εἰδέναι καλῶς ὁ δυνηθεὶς εἰς τὴν αὐτὴν αὐτῷ τῆς παρρησίας φθάσαι κορυφῆν. Πῶς γὰρ προσῆλθεν ὁ γέρων; Πῶς τοὺς δορυφόρους διέκοφε; Πῶς τὸ στόμα διῆρε; Πῶς ἐφθέγξατο; Πῶς ἐπετίμησε; Πῶς τὴν δεξιὰν εἰς τὸ στῆθος ἀπήρεισε τὸ φλεγμαίνον ἔτι τῷ θυμῷ καὶ ζέον τῷ φόνῳ; Πῶς ἀπώσατο τὸν ἀνδροφόνον; Οὐδὲν αὐτὸν τῶν δρωμένων κατέπληξε καὶ τῆς προθέσεως ἐξέκρουσεν. Ὦ ψυχῆς ἀκαταπλήκτου καὶ διανοίας ὑψηλῆς, ὦ φρενῶν οὐρανίων καὶ παραστήματος ἀγγελικοῦ. Ὥσπερ γὰρ ἐν τοίχῳ γεγραμμένην ἅπασαν τὴν φαντασίαν ἐκείνην ὁρῶν οὕτως ἀταράχως ἅπαντα ἔπραττεν ὁ γενναῖος ἀνήρ.

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2 cf 1 Cor 7.22   16s Ὦ ψυχῆς. . .ἀγγελικοῦ rhythmum dactylicum habere videntur   quam vocem fervidam Libanii morem esse demonstrat infra p 83,1

BPDAC VH OELSMGR v 1 οἰκόνα G 2 ἐπὶ om VH OSMGR ἐπὶ τὸν: ἐπὶ τῶν G 3 καὶ ante τὴν om OELSG 4 ἀπηλαγμένον E φροφρόνημα G 5 γνώσει G^c 6 αὐτη A post Τὴν add μὲν V et μὴ H 7 παραστῆσαι B^{m2} 8s δὲ post παράστημα add PD VH OELSMGRv 10 αὐτῷ: τῷ M τῆς om H SG 11 προῆλθεν H Πῶς τοὺς: πρὸς τοὺς G 11s Πῶς τοὺς δορυφόρους διέκοφε om E 13 ἔτι: ἐπὶ AH O 14 ζέοντι OEL 15 αὐτῷ ACV προθέσε O 16 ἀκαπλήκτου V ἀκαταλήπτου E ὑφιλῆς C φηλῆς G φρενῶν in ras O

34 Καὶ γὰρ ἦν πεπαιδευμένος ἀπὸ τῶν θείων δογμάτων ὅτι σκιὰ καὶ ὄναρ καὶ τούτων οὐδαμινώτερα ἅπαντα τὰ τοῦ κόσμου πράγματα. Διὰ τοῦτο οὐδὲν αὐτὸν τούτων καταπτῆξαι ἐποίησεν ἀλλὰ καὶ μᾶλλον ἐθάρρυνεν. Ἡ γὰρ ὄψις ἐκείνη τῶν ὁρωμένων τὴν διάνοιαν παρέπεμπεν ἐπὶ τὸν ἄνω βασιλέα τὸν καθήμενον ἐπὶ τῶν Χερουβὶμ καὶ βλέποντα ἀβύσσους, ἐπὶ τὸν θρόνον τὸν ἔνδοξον καὶ ὑψηλόν, ἐπὶ τὴν στρατιὰν τὴν οὐράνιον, ἐπὶ τὰς μυριάδας τῶν ἀγγέλων, ἐπὶ τὰς χιλιάδας τῶν ἀρχαγγέλων, ἐπὶ τὸ βῆμα τὸ φοβερόν, ἐπὶ τὸ κριτήριον τὸ ἀδέκαστον, ἐπὶ τὸν τοῦ πυρὸς ποταμόν, ἐπὶ τὸν κριτὴν αὐτόν. Διά τοι τοῦτο ὅλον ἑαυτὸν μεταστήσας ἀπὸ τῆς γῆς εἰς τὸν οὐρανὸν ὡς ἐκείνῳ τῷ δικαστῇ παρεστὼς καὶ αὐτοῦ κελεύοντος ἀκούων τὸν ἐναγῆ καὶ μιαρὸν τῆς ἱερᾶς ἀγέλης ἐξωθεῖν, οὕτως ἐξέβαλλε καὶ τῶν λοιπῶν προβάτων ἀφώριζε καὶ πρὸς οὐδὲν ἐπεστρέφετο τῶν ὁρωμένων καὶ δοκούντων εἶναι φοβερῶν ἀλλ' ἀνδρείως αὐτὸν μάλα καὶ γενναίως ἀπωσάμενος παρέστη τυραννουμένοις τοῖς τοῦ Θεοῦ νόμοις.

35 Καίτοι πόσῃ περὶ τοὺς λοιποὺς αὐτὸν παρρησίᾳ κεχρῆσθαι εἰκός; Ὁ γὰρ τῷ κρατοῦντι μετὰ τοσαύτης ἐξουσίας προσενεχθεὶς τίνα τῶν λοιπῶν ἔδεισεν ἄν; Ἐγὼ τὸν ἄνδρα ἐκεῖνον στοχάζομαι μᾶλλον δὲ οὐ στοχάζομαι ἀλλὰ πιστεύω μὴ πρὸς χάριν, μὴ πρὸς ἀπ-

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2 cf Pind P 8,95-96   2s cf 1 Cor 1,20, 3.19   5s cf Act Ap 7,55s
17 cf Act Ap 4.13

PDAC VH OELSMGR v   2 τοῦτον GR   4 ἐκείνων H SM   5 post βασιλέα add καὶ E   9 τὸν: τὴν G   10 τοι: τι G   13 ἐξέβαλε PVH OELSMGRv   ἀφώρισε PD OELGv   14 τῶν: τῷ E   15 καὶ: καί γε καὶ G   ἀποσάμενος G   προέστη O   19 τῶν om AC   ἄνδραν G   20 μᾶλλον δὲ οὐ στοχάζομαι om D   δὲ οὐ: οὐδὲ O ἔχθειαν μήτε πρᾶξαι μήτε εἰπεῖν τί ποτε ἀλλὰ καὶ πρὸς φόβον καὶ πρὸς τὴν τούτου δυνατωτέραν κολακείαν καὶ πρὸς τὰ ἄλλα τὰ τοιαῦτα--πολλὰ δὲ τὰ ἀνθρώπινα--γενναίως στῆναι καὶ ἀνδρείως καὶ μηδὲ μικρόν τι τῆς ὀρθῆς διαφθεῖραι κρίσεως. Εἰ γὰρ "στολισμὸς ἀνδρὸς καὶ γέλος ὀδόντων καὶ βῆμα ποδὸς ἀπαγγέλλει τὰ περὶ αὐτοῦ," πολλῷ μᾶλλον τὰ τοσαῦτα κατορθώματα πᾶσαν ἡμῖν ἱκανὰ τοῦ λοιποῦ βίου παραδεῖξαι τὴν ἀρετὴν. Οὐδὲ γὰρ ἐπὶ τῇ παρρησίᾳ μόνον αὐτὸν θαυμάζειν χρὴ ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐπὶ τῷ μέχρι τοσούτου τὴν παρρησίαν ἐκτεῖναι καὶ ἐπὶ τῷ πάλιν μηδὲν προσθεῖναι πλέον αὐτῇ.

VII 36 Τοιαύτη γὰρ ἡ τοῦ Θεοῦ σοφία μήτε ἐλλιπῶς μήτε περιττῶς ἀγωνίζεσθαι συγχωροῦσα ἀλλὰ πανταχοῦ τὴν συμμετρίαν φυλάττουσα. Καίτοι γε ἐνῆν εἴπερ ἐβούλετο καὶ περαιτέρω προελθεῖν. Τῷ γὰρ ἀπαγορεύσαντι τὸ ζῆν--οὐδ' ἂν τὴν ἀρχὴν προσῆλθεν εἰ μὴ τοιούτοις αὐτὸν ὥπλισε λογισμοῖς--μετ' ἐξουσίας ἅπαντα πράττειν ἐξῆν καὶ ὕβρεσι πλῦναι τὸν βασιλέα καὶ τὸ διάδημα καθελεῖν τῆς κεφαλῆς καὶ πληγὰς εἰς τὸ πρόσωπον ἐντεῖναι ὅτε τὴν δεξιὰν εἰς τὸ στῆθος ἀπήρεισεν. 'Αλλ' οὐδὲν τούτων ἐποίησε· τῷ γὰρ ἅλατι τῷ πνευματικῷ τὴν ψυχὴν ἠρτυμένος ἦν, δι' ὅπερ οὐδὲν ἔπραττεν εἰκῇ καὶ μάτην, ἀλλὰ πάντα κρίσει λογισμῶν ὀρθῇ καὶ μετὰ καταστάσεως ὑγιοῦς. 543

4ss Sir 19.30 19 sal sapientiae symbolum in Col 4.6

BDAC VH OELSMGR v 1 παράξαι in πρᾶξαι H^{c} 2 κολακίαν E τὰ post ἄλλα om OE 4 τῆς bis G τῆ[ς] ante κρίσεως eras H 5 γέλως AC S ἐπαγγέλλει GR 6 ἑαυτοῦ V πᾶσιν BC 7 λιποῦ E παραδεῖξαι: παραστῆσαι VH et δεῖξαι E 9 ἐπὶ: ἐν S post μηδὲν add γὰρ M 10 αὐτῇ: τῇ E 11 Θεοῦ: Χριστοῦ DAH OELSMGRv 12 συνμμετρίαν G 13 καὶ om EL 14 Τῷ: μὴ OL et τὸ G τὸ: τοῦ SM 14s προσῆλθεν: προῆλθεν D προσελθεῖν H προσελθεῖν ἦν οὐδ' O προσελθεῖν οὐδ' EL 15 ἑαυτὸν VH OESMGR ὥπλησεν C ante μετ' add ὥστε V OELMG et ὡς H SR μετ': κατ' AC 16 ὕβρεσι om E 17 ἐκ ante τῆς add VH 21 ὑγοῦς G

37 Οὐ καθάπερ οἱ παρ' Ἕλλησι σοφοὶ οἳ συμμέτρως μὲν οὐδέποτε πανταχοῦ δὲ ὡς εἰπεῖν ἢ πλέον ἢ ἔλαττον τοῦ δέοντος παρρησιάζονται ἵνα ἀνδρείας μὲν οὐδαμοῦ, παθῶν δὲ ἀλογίστων ἀλόγιστον δόξαν λάβωσι πανταχοῦ ἐν οἷς μὲν ὑστέρησαν δειλίας ἐν οἷς δὲ ὑπερέβησαν ἀλαζονείας καὶ φιλοδοξίας παρὰ πᾶσιν ἁλισκόμενοι-- ἀλλ' οὐχ ὁ μακάριος ἐκεῖνος, οὐ γὰρ ἁπλῶς τὸ ἐπελθὸν ἔπραττεν ἀλλὰ πάντα βασανίζων ἀκριβῶς καὶ πρὸς τοὺς θείους νόμους τοὺς λογισμοὺς ἁρμόζων τοὺς ἑαυτοῦ οὕτως ἐπὶ τὸ πράττειν ἐξήγαγεν αὐτούς. Διὰ τοῦτο καὶ τὴν τομὴν οὔτε ἐπιπόλαιον ἔδωκεν ὥστε μὴ πλέον τοῦ νενοσηκότος ἐναπομεῖναι μέρος οὔτε βαθυτέραν τοῦ δέοντος ὥστε μὴ τῷ περιττῷ τῆς πληγῆς λυμήνασθαι τὴν ὑγίειαν πάλιν, ἀλλὰ συμμετρήσας τῷ νοσήματι τὴν πληγὴν οὕτω τὴν ἀρίστην ἰατρείαν εἰργάσατο. Ἐντεῦθεν αὐτὸν καὶ θυμοῦ καὶ δειλίας καὶ ἀλαζονείας καὶ δοξομανίας καὶ ἀπεχθείας καὶ φόβων καὶ κολακείας θαρρούντως ἀπεφηνάμην εἶναι καθαρόν.

38 Εἰ δὲ δεῖ τι καὶ παράδοξον εἰπεῖν οὐχ οὕτω θαυμάζω τοῦ μακαρίου τὸ κατατολμῆσαι τῆς τοῦ κρατοῦντος μανίας ὡς τὸ συνιδεῖν μέχρι τίνος τοῦτο ποιῆσαι ἐχρῆν, καὶ μηδὲν περαιτέρω μήτε πρᾶξαι μήτε εἰπεῖν. Καὶ ὅτι τοῦτο ἐκείνου θαυμαστότερον πολλοὺς ἂν εὕροι τις τούτου μὲν περιγεγονότας ὑπ' ἐκείνου δὲ ἡττηθέντας. Τὸ μὲν γὰρ ἁπλῶς παρρησιάσασθαι καὶ τῶν τυχόντων πολλοῖς ἐστί, τὸ δὲ εἰς δέον καὶ καιρῷ τῷ προσήκοντι καὶ μετὰ

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22 καιρός id ad quod spectat ars rhetorica sec Isoc 13,15; 15,114

BPDAC VH OELSMGR v 2 εἰπῖν L δέοντος: εἰκότως OEL εἰκότος unus ed apud v 2s παρρησίαζεται H^{c} 4 ἀλόγιστον om BPDACH OELSMGRv 5 ἀλαζονίας E 6 οὐ γὰρ. . .ἔπραττεν om OL 7 πάντων AC 7s τοὺς λογισμοὺς G^{m} 8 ἐξῆγεν VH OSMG 9 ἐπιπολαίως H OG et αι in ras V ἐπιπολέως in -αίως E^{c} ἐπιπόλαιος M ἐπὶ πολλαὶ ὡς R^{s} ἐπιπολαίως R$^{m\gamma\rho}$ 9 ὥστε . . .μέρος om OEL ἔδωκεν. . .πλέον om A ὥστε μὴ πλέον om C 10 τὸ ante πλέον add H 11 λοιμήσασθαι AC ὑγείαν BACH OEM 12 νοσήματι: σώματι AC οὕτως D 20 ὑπὸ κείνον G 22 πολλοῖς: πολλάκις PD VH OELSMGRv τὸ. . .καιρῷ om AC τῷ om H

τῆς ἁρμοζούσης συμμετρίας καὶ συνέσεως τῷ πράγματι χρήσασθαι
μεγάλης λίαν καὶ θαυμαστῆς δεῖται ψυχῆς. Ἐπεὶ καὶ τὸν μακάριον
Δαυὶδ μετὰ πολλῆς τῆς ἐξουσίας ὕβρισεν ὁ Σεμεῖ καὶ "ἄνδρα αἱμά-
των" ἐκάλεσεν--ἀλλ' οὐκ ἂν εἴποιμι τοῦτο παρρησίαν ἔγωγε ἀλλὰ
γλώττης ἀκολασίαν καὶ θρασύτητα διανοίας καὶ ἀναγωγίαν καὶ
ἀπόνοιαν καὶ πάντα μᾶλλον ἢ παρρησίαν. Δεῖ γὰρ οἶμαι τὸν μέλ-
λοντα εἶναι ἐλεγκτικὸν θρασύτητος μάλιστα καὶ ἀπονοίας ὡς πορ-
ρωτάτω τὴν ἑαυτοῦ ψυχὴν ἀπαγαγεῖν καὶ τὸ δραστήριον ἐν τῇ φύσ-
ει τῶν ῥημάτων καὶ τῶν πραγμάτων ἐπιδείκνυσθαι μόνον.

39 Καὶ γὰρ ἰατρῶν παῖδες ὅταν τέμνειν τὰ σεσηπότα δέῃ τῶν
μελῶν ἢ τὰ φλεγμαίνοντα καταστέλλειν οὐκ ὀργῆς πρότερον γεμί-
σαντες ἑαυτοὺς οὕτως ἐπὶ τὴν ἰατρείαν ἔρχονται, ἀλλὰ τότε μάλ-
ιστα ἐν καταστάσει τῇ προσηκούσῃ σπουδάζουσι φυλάττειν τὸν
λογισμὸν ὥστε μὴ τῇ τέχνῃ λυμήνασθαι τὴν ἐκείνου ταραχήν. Εἰ
δὲ σῶμά τις θεραπεύειν μέλλων τοσαύτης δεῖται γαλήνης, τὸν ψυ- 544
χὰς ἰατρεύοντα ποῦ τάξομεν, εἰπέ μοι, καὶ πόσην ἀπαιτήσομεν φι-
λοσοφίαν; Πολλῷ μείζονα δῆλον ὅτι καὶ τοσαύτην ὅσην ὁ ἀγαθὸς
ἐκεῖνος ἐπεδείξατο μάρτυς. Καθάπερ γάρ τινας ὅρους καὶ κανόνας
ἡμῖν τίθησιν ἵν' ἐξ ἐκείνων τὰ μέτρα καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν λοιπῶν κατὰ
τὴν ἀναλογίαν λαμβάνωμεν, οὕτω τὸν δείλαιον ἐκεῖνον ἀπὸ τῶν
ἱερῶν περιβόλων ἀπώσατο.

3s 2 **Reg** 16.7

BPDAC VH OELSMGR v 1 **post** τῷ **supraser** δὲ **A** τῷ πράγματι **om R** 2 λίαν **om OMGR** Ἐπεὶ: ἐπὶ **G** 3 Σεμειει **V** Σεμεεὶ **H** Ζεμεει **O** Ξεμει **E** Σεμεεί **GR** 4 ἐγὼ **BPDAC OELSMGRv** 9 καὶ τῶν πραγμάτων **om AC** 14 τὴν τέχνην **OEG** 15 μέλλων: θέλων **OELS** 17 Πολλῷ: Πολλῶν **E** 18 ἀπεδείξατο **G** 19 τιθεὶς **PVH OELSMGRv** ἵν' **om BAC** α **in** μέτρα **in ras V** 20 δείλαι **G** 21 ἀπόσατο **M**

40 Καὶ δοκεῖ μὲν ἓν κατόρθωμα εἶναι τὸ γεγονὸς, εἰ δέ τις αὐτὸ διασκέψαιτο καὶ ἀναπτύξας πάντοθεν κατοπτεύσειεν ἀκριβῶς καὶ δεύτερον καὶ τρίτον συμπεφυκὸς εὑρήσει καλὸν καὶ πολὺν τῆς ὠφελείας τὸν θησαυρόν. Ὁ μὲν γὰρ ἀπελαυνόμενος τότε εἷς μόνος ἦν οἱ δὲ ἐκείνου κερδαίνοντες πολλοί. Τῆς γὰρ ἀρχῆς τῆς ὑπὸ τῷ τυράννῳ κειμένης--αὕτη δὲ ἦν τὸ πλεῖστον τῆς οἰκουμένης μέρος--ὅσοιπερ ἂν ἦσαν ἄπιστοι κατεπλάγησαν καὶ ἐθαύμασαν μαθόντες ὅσης τοῖς ἑαυτοῦ δούλοις ὁ Χριστὸς τῆς παρρησίας μετέδωκε, κατεγέλασαν τῆς παρ' αὐτοῖς δουλοπρεπείας καὶ ἀνελευθερίας καὶ ταπεινότητος, εἶδον ὅσον τῆς Χριστιανῶν εὐγενείας πρὸς τὴν τἙλλήνων αἰσχύνην τὸ μέσον.

41 Οἱ μὲν γὰρ παρ' αὐτοῖς τὴν τῶν ἱερῶν ἐπιμέλειαν ἐγχειρισμένοι μᾶλλον δεσποτῶν καὶ τῶν εἰδώλων δὲ αὐτῶν τοὺς βασιλεῖς θεραπεύουσι, καὶ διὰ τὸν ἐκείνων φόβον καὶ τοῖς ξοάνοις αὐτοῖς παρεδρεύουσιν ὡς τοὺς πονηροὺς δαίμονας τοῖς βασιλεῦσι χάριν ἔχειν τῆς εἰς αὐτοὺς τιμῆς. Αὐτίκα γοῦν ὅταν τινὰ συμβῇ μὴ τὰ ἐκείνων φρονοῦντα ἐπὶ ταύτην ἐλθεῖν τὴν ἀρχὴν, εἰσιὼν τις εἰς τοὺς τῶν εἰδώλων ναοὺς πανταχοῦ τῶν τοίχων ὄψεται διατεταμένα τὰ τῶν ἀραχνίων ὑφάσματα καὶ τοσαύτην ἐπικειμένην τῷ ξοάνῳ τὴν κόνιν ὡς μήτε ῥῖνα μήτε ὀφθαλμὸν μήτε ἄλλο τι τοῦ προσώπου φαίνεσθαι μέρος, τῶν δὲ βωμῶν τῶν μὲν τὰ λείψανα μόνον ἕστηκε τοῦ πλείονος ἀποθραυσθέντος μέρους τοὺς δὲ οὕτω βαθεῖα

BDAC VH OELSMGR 2 αὐτὸ om OE κατοπτευσειεν in ras B κατοπτεύσει H 3 συμπεφυκῶς E 4 post θησαυρόν add πλοῦτον in ras R 6s μέρος post πλεῖστον O 7 καὶ om D 8 καὶ ante μαθόντες add OELS τοῖς: τῆς EM 9 τῆς παρ' G^{m} 10s εὐγενίας E 11 τὴν: τῶν G 12s ἐγχειριζόμενοι AC 13 τοὺς βασιλεῖς om D 14 τὸν: τῶν DAC G καὶ ante τοῖς om H αὐτοῖς: αὐτῶς M 16 γοῦν: οὖν H 18s διατεταμμένα D 19 ἀραχνῶν VH OELSGR ἐπικειμένῳ G 20 ὀφθαλμῶν E^{c} τι om SM 21 μόνα om OE 22 ἀποθραυσθέντος in ras B ἀποθραυσθέντα O οὕτω om G πάντοθεν περιβάλλει πόα ὡς τὸν ἀγνοοῦντα κοπρίας τινὸς σωρείαν εἶναι νομίζειν τὸ φαινόμενον. Τὸ δὲ αἴτιον ὅτι πάλαι μὲν αὐτοῖς κλέπτειν ἐξῆν ὅσα ἐβούλοντο καὶ γαστρίζεσθαι διὰ τῆς τῶν ξοάνων θεραπείας· νῦν δὲ ὑπὲρ τίνος ἑαυτοὺς κόφουσι; Προσεδρεύσοντες γὰρ καὶ δαπανώμενοι παρ' ἐκείνων μὲν οὐδεμίαν προσδοκῶσιν ἀμοιβήν--καὶ γάρ εἰσι ξύλα καὶ λίθοι--τὸ δὲ πεῖθον αὐτοὺς ὑποκρίνεσθαι τὴν θεραπείαν ἡ παρὰ τῶν κρατούντων τιμή, καὶ αὕτη ἀνῄρηται τῶν βασιλευόντων γενομένων συνετῶν καὶ τὸν τοῦ Θεοῦ προσκυνούντων Υἱόν.

VIII 42 Ἀλλ' οὐ τά γε ἡμέτερα τοιαῦτα ἀλλὰ πᾶν τοὐναντίον. Ὅταν μὲν γάρ τις ὁμολογῶν ἡμῖν ἐν τῇ περὶ τοῦ θείου δόξῃ ἐπὶ τὸν βασιλικὸν ἀναβῇ θρόνον ῥαθυμότερα γίνεται τὰ Χριστιανῶν (τοσοῦτον ἀπέχει ταῖς ἀνθρωπίναις ὀρθοῦσθαι τιμαῖς), ὅταν δέ τις κρατήσῃ δυσσεβὴς καὶ πάντοθεν ἡμᾶς ἐλαύνων καὶ μυρίοις περιβάλλων κακοῖς τότε εὐδοκιμεῖ καὶ λαμπρότερα γίνεται τὰ καθ' ἡμᾶς, τότε ἀριστείων καὶ τροπαίων καιρὸς, τότε στεφάνων καὶ ἀναρρήσεων καὶ πάσης ἀνδραγαθίας ἀφορμή.

43 Εἰ δὲ λέγοι τις ὅτι καὶ νῦν εἰσὶ πόλεις τὴν ἴσην δεισιδαιμονίαν ἐπιδεικνύμεναι περὶ τὴν τῶν εἰδώλων μανίαν, πρῶτον

2ss cf Hes Theog 535ss 10ss cf Ier 2.6s 15ss haec verba ad persecutiones et consequentia martyria a Constantino prohibita imprimis pertinent; cf 2 Tim 4.8, Iac 1.12

BPDAC VH OELSMGR 1 θεν in πάντοθεν in ras B 2 νομίζων E 2s σωρείαν: σωτήριον DAC τη in ras B σωρείαν B^{m} $^{\gamma\rho}$ 3 αὐτοῖ G^{m} 4s προεδρεύοντες O 6 προσκῶσιν E ποῖθον G 7 ἡ π ante ἡ add G 8 τὸν: τῶν G 10 ἀλλὰ πᾶν τοὐναντίον om GR 11 γὰρ om BA τις: τι H περὶ om O θείου: Θεοῦ ESR 12 ἀναβῇ θρόνον: ἀναβῆναι θρόνον τύχῃ PVH OELSMGR ῥαθυμώτερα A 16s τροπαίων. . .ἀναρρήσεων καὶ om H 17 νοῦν in νῦν G^{c} 18 ἐπιδεικνύμεναι post μανίαν AC VH OELSMGR

μὲν εὐαριθμήτους καὶ ὀλίγας ἐρεῖς--πλὴν ἀλλ' οὐδὲ οὕτω τὸν
ἡμέτερον βλάψει λόγον. Ἡ γὰρ ὑπόθεσις ἡ αὐτὴ καὶ ἀντὶ τοῦ
κρατοῦντος τοὺς τὴν πόλιν οἰκοῦντας ἔχουσι τὴν ἴσην αὐτοῖς
παρεχομένους τιμήν. Καὶ τοῦτο αἴτιον τῆς θεραπείας· αἱ κραιπάλαι
καὶ οἱ κῶμοι οἱ μεθ' ἡμέραν, οἱ διὰ πάσης νυκτός, οἱ αὐλοὶ
καὶ τὰ τύμπανα, τὸ μετὰ πάσης ἀναισχυντίας αἰσχρὰ μὲν εἰπεῖν
πρᾶξαι δὲ αἰσχρότερα· τὸ διαρραγῆναι μὲν ὑπὸ τῆς ἀδηφαγίας
ἐκβακχευθῆναι δὲ ὑπὸ τῆς μέθης καὶ εἰς τὴν αἰσχίστην μανίαν
ἐκπεσεῖν. Αὗται αἱ ἀσχήμονες δαπάναι συνέχουσιν ἔτι καὶ
διακρατοῦσι διαπίπτουσαν τὴν πλάνην· οἱ γὰρ εὐπορώτεροι τοὺς
διὰ τὴν ἀργίαν ὑπὸ τοῦ λιμοῦ φθειρομένους ἐκλέγοντες ἐν τάξει 545
παρασίτων καὶ τῶν περὶ τὰς τραπέζας τρεφομένων ἔχουσι κυνῶν,
τοῖς λειψάνοις τοῖς ἀπὸ τῶν παρανόμων δείπνων διασπῶντες τὰς
γαστέρας τὰς ἀναιδεῖς καὶ πρὸς ὅπερ ἂν θέλωσιν αὐταῖς χρώμενοι.

44 Ἡμεῖς δὲ καθάπαξ τὴν ὑμετέραν ἀλογίαν καὶ παρανομίαν μισήσαντες τοὺς μὲν ἀργοῦντας καὶ διὰ τοῦτο πεινῆν ἀναγκαζομένους οὐ τρέφομεν ἀλλ' ἐργαζομένους καὶ ἑαυτοῖς καὶ ἑτέροις ἀρκεῖν πείθομεν, τοὺς δὲ ἀναπήρους τῷ σώματι γενομένους

4ss cf Luc 21.34, Rom 13.13, 1 Cor 13.1[illegible] Gal 5.21   10 cf Lib Or 30,20   19ss de labore egentibus praebendo magna caritatis Christianae parte cf AHarnack The Mission and Expansion of Christianity (ed Moffatt) p 173ss

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BPDAC VH OELSMGR v   1 εὐαριθμήτως G   ὀλίγα E   ἐρεῖ PD VH OELSMGRv   οὕτως B   4 κρεπάλαι OL   5s αὖλοι B   7 ἀδιφαγίας A   ἀδδηφαγίας OSGR   12 τῶν: τὸν M   στρεφομένων CH LMGR   κυνῶν: κοικωνοῦς AC   13 διασπόντες G   14 ἐθέλωσιν OEL   αὐτοῖς H GR   17 πεινῆν in ras G   18 ἀλ' E   ἀλλ' ἐργαζομένους om D   αὐτοῖς DAC E   αὐτοῖς ut vid O   19 ἐπαρκεῖν PVH OELSMGRv   εν in πείθομεν in ras D   ἀναπείρους C   γινομένους EL παρὰ τῶν ἐχόντων τῆς ἀναγκαίας μόνον συγχωροῦμεν ἀπολαύειν τροφῆς. Κῶμοι δὲ καὶ μέθαι καὶ πᾶσα ἡ λοιπὴ μανία καὶ αἰσχρότης ἐκβέβληται ἀντεισῆκται δὲ ἀντὶ τούτων "ὅσα σεμνά, ὅσα ἁγνά, ὅσα δίκαια, ὅσα εὔφημα εἴ τις ἀρετὴ καὶ εἴ τις ἔπαινος."

45 Καὶ τὰ ἄλλα δὲ ἃ ὑπὲρ τῶν παρ' αὐτοῖς φιλοσοφησάντων κομπάζουσιν ἀπέδειξε κενοδοξίαν καὶ θρασύτητα καὶ παιδικῆς ἔργα διανοίας. Οὐ γὰρ πίθον ἐκεῖ λαβὼν κατέκλεισεν ἑαυτὸν οὐδὲ ῥάκη περιβαλλόμενος οὕτω περιῄει κατὰ τὴν ἀγοράν. Ταῦτα γὰρ δοκεῖ μέν τινα εἶναι θαυμαστὰ καὶ πόνον ἔχειν πολὺν καὶ τὴν ἐσχάτην ταλαιπωρίαν ἐπαίνου δὲ παντὸς ἀπεστέρηται. Καὶ τοῦτο δὲ τῆς τοῦ διαβόλου κακουργίας τοὺς δουλεύοντας αὐτῷ τοιούτοις παραδιδόναι πόνοις οἳ καὶ διασπάσονται τοὺς ἠπατημένους καὶ μάλιστα πάντων καταγελάστους ἀποφανοῦσιν αὐτούς. Πόνος γὰρ οὐδὲν κέρδος ἔχων ἐγκωμίου παντὸς ἀπεστέρηται. Καὶ γὰρ ἔτι καὶ νῦν εἰσιν ἄνθρωποι φθοροὶ καὶ μυρίων γέμοντες κακῶν τοῦ φιλοσόφου πολλῷ μείζονα ἐπιδεικνύμενοι. Οἱ μὲν γὰρ ἥλους ἐξεῖς καὶ ἠκονημένους ἔφαγον οἱ δὲ ὑποδήματα διεμασήσαντο καὶ κατέπιον οἱ δὲ πρὸς ἕτερα πολλῷ τούτων παρεβουλεύσαντο μοχθηρότερα καίτοι τὰ τοιαῦτα πολλῷ τοῦ πίθου καὶ τῶν ῥακίων

3ss cf Phil 4.8   8 Diogenes Sinopeus in dolio habitavit: cf D L 6,23 & 43   9 De eiusdem pannis cf D L 6,22

AC VH OELSMGR v   3 ἐπεισῆκται OL   post δὲ add καὶ G   4s εἴ τις ἔπαινος : ἔστιν ἔπαινος A   6 δὲ om GR   φιλοσοφισάντων A   7 καινοδοξίαν M   8 ὁ Διογένης E^m πίθον ἐκεῖ: ὡς ὁ πίθον ἐκεῖνος O^mE ὡς ὀπίθεν ἐκεῖνος L   λαβὼν ἐκεῖ in ras G 9 ῥάκκη AC   post ῥάκη add ὡς ὁ O^mEL 11 αἰσχάτην V   13s ἠπατουμένους GR   15 γὰρ G^s παντὸς: τινὸς G   παντὸς G^m γρ   16 φθοροὶ: φθορεῖς Savile Fronto Due v   γέμωντες G   18 εἰκονημένους C   18s κατεμασήσαντο H OELSMR   κατεμασήσαντα G   19 κατέπιον: κατέφαγον OEL   20 τὰ τοιαῦτα: ταῦτα O et τοιαῦτα E θαυμαστότερα. Ἀλλ' οὐκ ἀποδεχόμεθα αὐτὰ ὥσπερ οὖν οὐδὲ ἐκεῖνα ἀλλ' ἐξίσης τῷ φιλοσόφῳ κακίζομεν καὶ δακρύομεν καὶ τούτους καὶ πάντας ὁμοίως τοὺς τὰ τοιαῦτα τερατευομένους εἰκῆ.

46 Ἀλλὰ καὶ παρρησίαν ἐπεδείξατο πρὸς βασιλέα πολλήν. Ἴδωμεν οὖν καὶ τὴν πολλὴν παρρησίαν μή ποτε καὶ αὕτη τῆς τοῦ πίθου τερατείας ματαιοτέρα οὖσα τύχοι. Τίς οὖν ἡ παρρησία; Ἐλαύνοντι τῷ Μακεδόνι ποτὲ ἐπὶ τὸν Πέρσην ἐπιστάντι τε αὐτῷ καὶ ἀπαγγεῖλαι προτρέψαντι εἴ τινος δέοιτο, οὐδενὸς, ἔφη, πλὴν τοῦ μὴ ἐπισκοτεῖν αὐτῷ τὸν βασιλέα--καὶ γὰρ ἔτυχε ἤδη θερόμενος ὁ φιλόσοφος. Οὐ καταδύσεσθε; Οὐκ ἐγκαλύψεσθε; Οὐκ ἀπελθόντες ἑαυτούς που κατορύξετε ἐπὶ τούτοις μεγαλοφρονοῦντες ἐφ' οἷς αἰσχύνεσθαι ἐχρῆν; Πόσῳ γὰρ βέλτιον ἦν ἱμάτιον ἐνδύντα ἁδρὸν ἐνεργὸν εἶναι καί τι τῶν χρησίμων τὸν βασιλεύοντα τότε αἰτεῖν ἢ καθῆσθαι μετὰ τῶν ῥακίων θερμαινόμενον κατὰ τὰ μικρὰ καὶ ὑπομάζια τῶν παιδίων ἅπερ αἱ τίτθαι μετὰ τὸ λοῦσαι καὶ ἀλεῖψαι προτιθέασιν εἰς τοῦτο εἰς ὅπερ ὁ φιλόσοφος τότε ἐκάθητο γραιδίου δυστήνου χάριν αἰτῶν;

47 Ἀλλ' ἡ παρρησία ἴσως θαυμαστή; Ἀλλὰ ταύτης οὐδὲν

6ss cf Diog Laert 6,38

BP(p 33,16 ad ἐκάθητο illeg fit P)DAC VH OELSMGR v 1 αὐτὰ om OEL οὖν om OE 3 ὁμοῖος E τὰ om O τοι in τοιαῦτα bis G παρατευομένους E 4 iuxta Ἀλλὰ hab ἀντίθεσις E^m L^m ἐπεδείξαντο E post ἐπεδείξατο add φησι VH OELSMGR ante βασιλέα add τὸν VH πολήν O 7 iuxta αὐτῷ add τῷ Διογένῃ $E^m L^m$ τε: δὲ A αὐτῷ eras O sed O^m γρ 8 ἐπιστρέψαντι AC ἐπιτρεψάντι PD VH OELSMGR 9 ἤδη θερόμενος: ἡλίῳ θερόμενος P SMv θερό- in θερμαινό- V^e ἡλίῳ θερμαινόμενος DH OELGR 10 post καταδύσεσθε add duas litt eras V 11 που; ποῦ C et ποτε VH μέγα φρονοῦντες BDCH OELSMGR v 12 χρῆ GR βελτίων C G 13 καί τι: καίτοι GR πρὸς ante τὸν add S αἰτεῖν: εἰπεῖν S 14 post ῥακίων add τότε OEL 15 αἱ om H τίθθαι AC 16 ἐκεῖνος ante ἐκάθητο add P 16s post γραιδίου addm litt erasR 17 καὶ ante χάριν add E 18 θαυμαστῆς G

τερατωδέστερον. Τὸν γὰρ ἀγαθὸν ἄνδρα πρὸς τὸ κοινωφελὲς ἅπαντα πράττειν χρὴ καὶ τὸν τῶν ἄλλων βίον κατορθοῦν, τὸ δὲ ἀξιῶσαι 546 μὴ ἐπισκοτεῖν ποίαν πόλιν, ποίαν οἰκίαν, τίνα ἄνδρα, ποίαν γυναῖκα διέσωσεν; Εἰπὲ τῆς παρρησίας τὸ κέρδος. Τὸ γὰρ τοῦ μάρτυρος ἡμεῖς ἐπεδείξαμεν καὶ προιόντες δὲ αὐτὸ σαφέστερον ἐκκαλύψομεν. IX Τέως δὲ τὸν ὑβριστὴν ἐκόλασε καὶ ταύτῃ ᾗ τὸν ἱερέα κολάζειν θέμις ἐστί· τὰ τῶν ἀρχόντων κατέστειλε φρονήματα, τοῖς τοῦ θεοῦ νόμοις κινουμένοις ἐπήμυνε, τιμωρίαν ὑπὲρ τοῦ κακῶς σφαγέντος ἀπῄτησε τὴν πασῶν τιμωριῶν χαλεπωτέραν τοῖς γε νοῦν ἔχουσι. Μέμνησθε δήπου πάντως ὅτε περὶ τοῦ φόνου διελεγόμην πῶς ἕκαστος διεθερμαίνετο τῶν ἀκροατῶν καὶ τὸν αὐθέντην λαβεῖν ηὔχετο;

48 Τοῦτο τοίνυν ὁ μακάριος ἐκεῖνος ἐποίησε καὶ δίκην ἐπέθηκεν αὐτῷ τε πρέπουσαν κἀκεῖνον ἐπιστρέψαι ἱκανὴν εἰ μὴ λίαν ἀναίσθητος ἔτυχεν ὤν, οὐχι θερομένῳ αὐτῷ τὸν βασιλέα ἐπισκοτοῦντα ἀποστῆναι ἀξιῶν, ἀλλ' ἀναιδῶς τοῖς ἱεροῖς ἐπιπηδῶντα περιβόλοις καὶ πάντα συγχέοντα καθάπερ τινὰ κύνα καὶ οἰκέτην ἀγνώμονα τῶν δεσποτικῶν ἀπείργων αὐλῶν. Ὁρᾷς ὡς οὐ κομπάζων ἔλεγον ὅτι παιδικῆς ἔργα διανοίας τὰ παρ' ὑμῖν φιλοσόφων ἀπέδειξε θαύματα.

BDAC VH OELSMGR v 1 κοινωφελέστερον H 3 ποίαν πόλιν. . . ἄνδρα om GR 5 σαφέστερον αὐτὸ ELSMGR 8 ἐπ in ἐπήμυνε B^s ἤμυνε AC ἐπήμηνε L 10 δήπου: δέ που L πάντες OL ὅτε: ὅτι G 11 ἀκροατῶν ut vid O 12 ἐπεθύμη G ποθεν: ποτε H 14 ἐποίησε G^m 15 a τε πρέπουσαν. . .θερομένῳ om Dv 15 τε om ACH τε: τὴν V OELSMGR κἀκεῖνον: ἐκεῖνον E et καὶ κεῖνον M 16 οὐχ VH OELSMGR ἡλίῳ ante θερομένῳ add VH OELSMGR θερομένῳ αὐτῷ: θερμαινομένῳ GR 17 ἀποστῆναι om B GR τοῖς bis L 18 κύνα καί: ἢ κύνα OEL 19 ἀ in ἀπείργων B^s

Ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐσωφρόνησεν ὁ Σινωπεὺς ἐκεῖνος καὶ ἐν ἐγκρατείᾳ διήγαγε καὶ τῶν κατὰ νόμον οὐκ ἀνεχόμενος γάμων. Ἀλλ' οὐ προσθήσεις ἀλλ' ἥδιον τῶν τῆς σωφροσύνης ἐγκωμίων ἀποστερήσεις αὐτὸν ἢ τὸν τρόπον τῆς σωφροσύνης ἐρεῖς οὕτως αἰσχρὸς καὶ πολλῆς γέμων αἰσχύνης.

49 Ἐπῆλθον δ'ἂν καὶ τὸν τῶν ἄλλων λῆρον καὶ τὴν ματαιοπονίαν καὶ τὴν αἰσχρότητα. Ποῦ γὰρ εἰπέ μοι χρήσιμον γονῆς ἀπογεύεσθαι ἀνθρωπίνης ὅπερ ὁ Σταγειρίτης ἐποίει; Ποῖον δὲ ὄφελος μίγνυσθαι μητράσι καὶ ἀδελφαῖς ὅπερ ὁ τῆς Στοᾶς προεστὼς φιλόσοφος ἐνομοθέτει; Καὶ τὸν τῆς Ἀκαδημίας δὲ ἄρξαντα καὶ τὸν ἐκείνου διδάσκαλον καὶ τοὺς ἔτι τούτων μᾶλλον θαυμαζομένους τούτων αἰσχροτέρους ἀνέδειξα ἄν, καὶ τὴν παιδεραστίαν ἣν σεμνὸν εἶναι τίθενται καὶ φιλοσοφίας μέρος ἐξεκάλυψα πάσης ἀπαμφιάσας τῆς ἀλληγορίας εἰ μὴ μικρὸν ὁ λόγος ἡμῖν ἐξετείνετο μῆκος καὶ πρὸς ἕτερον ἠπείγετο μέρος καὶ ἱκανῶς καὶ διὰ τοῦ ἑνὸς τοῦ γέ-

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1s Diogenes Sinopeus homihibus suadebat caelibus esse sec Diog Laert 6,54   6ss de aliorum philosophorum persuasionibus Chrysostomus errare videtur: erat enim Diogenes Sinopeus qui fas esse dixit carnem humanam edere sec Diog Laert 6,73; cf infra p 36,4 ubi et Chrysostomus Diogenis nec Aristotelis hoc esse dicit   8s incestum Graecis stuprum alienissimum esse demonstrat Aesch Supp 9, Prom 855ss atque adeo Plato Respub 450b6ss ubi solas custodum uxores communes esse voluit Socrates   12ss παιδεραστία a Deo Hebraeorum vivente damnata (Gen 19.5 & 24s) sed a Platone aliqua e parte non reiecta (Phaedr 238c1ss, Sympos 210a7ss)

BAC VH OELSMGR v   1 ad Ἀλλὰ hab ἀντίθεσις L^m [ ]οπηλεὺς $O^m L^m$ ἐσωφρόνει OELS ante ὁ add φησιν OEL Σεινωπὲς E ἐν om AC VH SMG   1s διῆγε OELSMGR   2 καὶ om AC VH OELSMGR τὸν ante νόμον add H SG ἀ in ἀνεχόμενος om G   3 τῶν: τὸν G ἀποστερῆσαι GR   4 ἐρεῖν R   4s o in πολλῆς   5 post αἰσχύνης add ἦν VH OELSMGRv   8 ad Σταγ- hab ὁ Ἀριστοτέλης $O^m L^m$ 10 ad ἄρξ- hab Πλάτων $O^m L^m$ 10s καὶ τὸν: καίτοι H   11 ad διδάσ- hab ὁ Σωκράτης L^m μᾶλλον τούτων SM τούτους H GR   12 ἀπέδειξα VH OELSGR σεμνὴν H MG   13 ἐξεκάλυψαι M   14 ὁ λόγος om SM ἡμῖν ὁ λόγος OGR   15 ἠπείγετο in ras B

λωτα πάντων διήλεγξεν. Ὅταν γὰρ ὁ κρατῶν κατὰ τὸ δοκοῦν αὐσ-
τηρότερον εἶναι τῆς φιλοσοφίας μέρος καὶ παρρησίας καὶ ἐγκρα-
τείας ἕνεκεν οὕτως αἰσχρὸς καὶ ἄτοπος καὶ περιττὸς ἀποφαίνηται—
καὶ γὰρ καὶ τὸ ἀνθρώπων ἀπογεύεσθαι ἔλεγεν ἀδιάφορον εἶναι—τίς
ἡμῖν πρὸς τοὺς ἄλλους λόγος ἔσται λοιπὸν τοῦ κατὰ τὴν κορυφὴν
τοῦ ἐπιτηδεύματος ὑπὲρ τοὺς ἄλλους λάμψαντος οὕτω καταγελάστου
καὶ μειρακιώδους καὶ ἀνοήτου δειχθέντος ἅπασι;

50 Δι' ὅπερ ἐπανίωμεν ὅθεν ταῦτα εἰπεῖν ἐξέβημεν. Τοὺς
μὲν οὖν ἀπίστους οὕτω συνέστειλεν ὁ μακάριος τοὺς δὲ πιστοὺς
εὐλαβεστέρους κατέστησεν οὐκ ἰδιώτας μόνον ἀλλὰ καὶ στρατιώτας
καὶ στρατηγοὺς καὶ ὑπάρχους δείξας ὅτι ὁ βασιλεὺς καὶ ὁ πάντων
ἔσχατος παρὰ Χριστιανοῖς ὀνόματα μόνον ἐστὶ καὶ τῶν ἐλαχίστων
ὁ τὸ διάδημα ἔχων οὐδὲν ἔσται σεμνότερος ὅταν κολάζεσθαι καὶ
ἐπιτιμᾶσθαι δέῃ. Πρὸς δὲ τούτοις τοὺς βουλομένους ἀναισχυν-
τεῖν καὶ κόμπον τινὰ πεπλασμένον τὰ παρ' ἡμῖν εἶναι λέγοντας 547
ἐπεστόμισε τὴν τῶν ἀποστόλων παρρησίαν διὰ τῶν ἔργων ἐπιδείξας
καὶ διδάξας ὅτι καὶ πάλαι τοιούτους ἄνδρας γενέσθαι εἰκὸς ἦν
ὅτε καὶ πλείονα ἡ τῶν σημείων ἐπίδειξις παρεῖχε τὴν ἐξουσίαν
αὐτοῖς.

11ss de προσωποληψία et maiestate propter fidem in Christo etiam obscuris vindicanda cf Rom 2.11, Col 3.25, Iac 2.1ss

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BDAC VH OELSMG 1 διέλεγξεν G 3 οὗτος H G 4 καὶ om G τὸ om BAC τὸ: τῶν H 5 ἔσται λόγος AC VH OELSMG ποτε ante λοιπὸν add V 8 ἐπανίμεν M 9 οὕτως D 11 ὁ ante πάντων om OEL 14 τιμᾶσθαι B 15 πεπλασμένον in ras B ἀπεπλασμένον L ἡμῶν BC 16 ἐπεστόμισεν post παρρησίαν B AC ἀποδείξας OE 17 καὶ διδάξας om BAC 17 καὶ om G

51 Ἔστι τι καὶ τρίτον κατόρθωμα οὐ τὸ τυχόν· τῶν γὰρ μετὰ ταῦτα ἱερᾶσθαι καὶ βασιλεύειν μελλόντων τὰ φρονήματα τῶν μὲν κατέστειλε τῶν δὲ ἐπῆρεν ἀποφήνας ὅτι τῆς γῆς καὶ τῶν ἐν τῇ γῇ πραττομένων κυριώτερος ἐπίτροπος ὁ τὴν ἱερωσύνην λαχὼν τοῦ τὴν ἀλουργίδα ἔχοντός ἐστι καὶ χρὴ ἐξουσίας ταύτης τὸ μέγεθος μὴ ἐλαττοῦν ἀλλὰ τῆς ψυχῆς ἐξίστασθαι πρότερον ἢ τῆς αὐθεντίας ἣν ὁ θεὸς ἄνωθεν ταύτῃ συνεκλήρωσε τῇ ἀρχῇ. Ὁ μὲν γὰρ οὕτως ἀποθανὼν καὶ μετὰ τὴν τελευτὴν δύναιτ' ἂν ἅπαντας ὠφελεῖν, ὁ δὲ ταύτην τὴν τάξιν λιπὼν οὐ μόνον μετὰ τὸν θάνατον οὐδένα ὤνησεν ἀλλὰ καὶ ζῶν τῶν τε ὑπ' αὐτῷ ταττομένων τοὺς πλείονας μαλακωτέρους εἰργάσατο καὶ παρὰ τοῖς ἔξωθεν ἐπονείδιστος καὶ καταγέλαστος γίνεται. Καὶ ἀπελθὼν δὲ ἐντεῦθεν μετὰ πολλῆς αἰσχύνης καὶ κατηφείας παραστήσεται τῷ βήματι τοῦ Χριστοῦ ἐκεῖθεν τε αὐτὸν πάλιν εἰς τὴν κάμινον ἀπάξουσιν ἕλκουσαι αἱ πρὸς τοῦτο ταχθεῖσαι δυνάμεις. Διά τοι τοῦτο σοφός τις παραινεῖ λόγος· "μὴ λάβῃς πρόσωπον κατὰ τῆς ψυχῆς σου." Εἰ δὲ ἀνδρὸς ἀδικουμένου οὐκ ἀσφαλὲς ὑποκρίνεσθαι, τῶν θείων νόμων ὑβριζομένων ὁ σιγήσας καὶ παριδὼν τίνος οὐκ ἔσται κολάσεως ἄξιος;

3ss cf HLietzmann Geschichte der alten Kirche 4,68s   16 Sir 4.22

BDACH OELSMGR   1 post Ἔστι add δὲ G   τυχεῖν G et τυχὸν G^m γὰρ om OEL   2 μελλόντων: λαχόντων DH OELSMGR   post φρονήματα aliq litt in ras B^m 4 κυριότερος M.   5 ἀλουργίαν G   6 ἐλατοῦν G   7 αὐθεντείας C   αὐθεντίαν H   ταύτῃ om H   8 τὴν B^{s2} σ in ἅπαντας G^s 9 τὸν om O   10 οὐδένα om G   ζῶν: ζώντων B   τε om DAC   τε: τότε H OLSMGR   τεταγμένων OELSMGR   11 ἔξωθεν B   12 καὶ ante καταγέλαστος bis E   14 πάλιν αὐτὸν H   15 ταχθῆσαι G   τοι: τι G   16 λόγος: λέγων H   17 ρ in ἀνδρὸς in ras O   ὑποκρίνασθαι G

52 Μετὰ δὲ τούτων καὶ ἕτερόν τι τούτων οὐχ ἧττον ἐδίδαξέ τι καλόν--ὅτι τὰ αὑτοῦ ποιεῖν ἕκαστον χρὴ κἂν μηδεὶς ὁ δεχόμενος ᾖ τῶν γινομένων τὸ κέρδος. Οὐδὲ γὰρ αὐτός τι τότε τῆς παρρησίας εἰς τὴν ὠφέλειαν ἀπώνατο τοῦ βασιλέως, ἀλλ' ὅμως τὸ αὑτοῦ πᾶν ἐπλήρωσε καὶ ἐνέλιπεν οὐδέν. Ὁ δὲ κάμνων διὰ τῆς οἰκείας ἀπονοίας ἐλυμήνατο τοῦ τεχνίτου τὴν ἐπιστήμην μετὰ πολλοῦ τοῦ θυμοῦ τὸ φάρμακον ἀπὸ τοῦ τραύματος ἀφελών. Ὥσπερ γὰρ οὐκ ἀρκοῦν εἰς ἀσέβειαν τὸ φονεῦσαι καὶ ἀναισχύντως ἐπιπηδῆσαι τῷ ναῷ τοῦ θεοῦ, προσετίθει φόνῳ φόνον ἕτερον καὶ καθάπερ φιλονεικῶν ὁμοῦ καὶ νικῆσαι τοῖς δευτέροις τὰ πρότερα καὶ τὰ τῶν φθασάντων πάθη ἀμαυρῶσαι τῇ τῶν ὑστέρων ὑπερβολῇ [τοιαύτη γὰρ ἡ τοῦ διαβόλου μανία τὰ ἐναντία κατασκευάζειν ἅμα] οὕτως ἀμφοτέραις ταῖς σφαγαῖς ἔχειν τι κατάλληλον ἐξαίρετον ἔδωκεν. Καὶ ἦν ἡ μὲν προτέρα ἐλεεινοτέρα τῆς δευτέρας ἡ τοῦ παιδός, ἡ δὲ δευτέρα ἐναγεστέρα τῆς προτέρας ἡ τοῦ μακαρίου Βαβύλα.

53 Ψυχὴ γὰρ ἅπαξ ἁμαρτίας γευσαμένη καὶ ἀναλγήτως διατεθεῖσα πολλὴν παρέχει τῷ νοσήματι τὴν προσθήκην. Καὶ οἷον εἰς ὕλην ἄφατον σπινθὴρ ἐμπεσὼν καίει μὲν εὐθέως τὸ προστυγχάνον οὐχ ἵσταται δὲ μέχρις ἐκείνου μόνον ἀλλὰ πᾶν ἐπινέμεται τὸ λοιπόν, καὶ ὅσῳ ἂν πλείονα λάβῃ τῇ φλογὶ τοσούτῳ πλείονα προσλαμβάνει τὴν ἰσχὺν πρὸς τὴν τῶν λοιπῶν ἀπώλειαν καὶ γίνεται τῶν ἁλόντων ξύλων τὸ πλῆθος τοῖς ἁλίσκεσθαι μέλλουσιν ἐπιβουλὴ τοῖς

10s τοιαύτη. . .ἅμα verba perobscura male locata putamus interpolata: cf infra pp 81,20ss & 84,7s ubi fere eadem verba recte locata et p 49,9s ubi eadem sententia

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BDAC VH OELSMGR v 1 καὶ ἕτερόν τι τούτων om DV GRv τι om DAC VH OELSMGRv 2 αὑτοῦ. . .ᾖ om E 3 τι om BD G 4 αὐτοῦ O 5 πάντα πλήρωσε E καμὼν post corr O 8 οὐκ ἀρκοῦν: του (τ ab alia manu add ut vid) A οὐ C 8s ἐπηδῆσαι E 9 φόνῳ om OEL καὶ om OELSMGR 11 μὴ ante ἀμαυρῶσαι add BAC SM 12 τὰ ἐναντία. . .ἅμα om V κατασκευάζων H 15 ἐναγγεστέρα B^{e} ἐναργεστέρα AC Βαβυλᾶ C 16 Ψυχὴ γὰρ: ἡ γὰρ ἐπιρρεπὴς πρὸς κακίαν ψυχὴ H OELSMGR ἀναλγήτως: οὐκ ἀλγήτως G 18 ἄφατον σπινθὴρ ἐμπεσὼν: πῦρ ἄφατον ἐμπεσὸν OL πῦρ ἄφατον σπινθὴρ ἐμπεσὸν E εὐθέος O 19 ἵστα[ ] G ληφθεῖσι κατὰ τῶν μενόντων ὁπλιζομένης ἀεὶ τῆς φλογός, οὕτω καὶ ἡ τῆς ἁμαρτίας φύσις ἐπειδὰν τινος λάβηται τῶν τῆς ψυχῆς λογισμῶν καὶ μηδεὶς ὁ σβεννύων ᾖ τὸ κακὸν προιοῦσα περαιτέρω χαλεπωτέρα γίνεται καὶ δυσχείρωτος. Καὶ διὰ τοῦτο τὰ μετὰ ταῦτα πολλάκις τῶν προτέρων ἰσχυρότερα γέγονεν ἁμαρτήματα τῆς ψυχῆς ἀεὶ τῇ τῶν δευτέρων προσθήκῃ πρὸς μείζονα ἀπόνοιαν καὶ καταφρόνησιν αἰρομένης καὶ διὰ τούτων τὴν μὲν οἰκείαν διαλυούσης 548 δύναμιν τὴν δὲ τῆς ἁμαρτίας τρεφούσης.

54 Οὕτω γοῦν πολλοὶ εἰς πᾶν εἶδος ἁμαρτημάτων ἐλθόντες ἔλαθον ἐπειδὴ τὴν φλόγα ἀρχομένην οὐκ ἔσβεσαν, οὕτω καὶ ὁ δείλαιος ἐκεῖνος χαλεπώτερα τοῖς προτέροις προσετίθει τὰ δεύτερα. 'Επειδὴ γὰρ τὸν νέον ἐκεῖνον ἀπώλεσεν ἀπὸ τοῦ φόνου πρὸς τὴν ὕβριν τὴν εἰς τὸν νεὼν ὥρμησε καὶ πάλιν ἐκ ταύτης ὁδῷ προβαίνων εἰς τὴν κατὰ τῆς ἱερωσύνης ἀπόνοιαν ἐπαπεδύσατο, καὶ τὸν ἅγιον σιδήρῳ δήσας καὶ εἰς δεσμωτήριον ἐμβαλὼν οὕτω τέως ἐκόλαζε δίκην αὐτὸν τῆς εὐεργεσίας ἀπαιτῶν καὶ ὑπὲρ ὧν θαυμάζειν ἔδει καὶ στεφανοῦν καὶ τῶν γεγεννηκότων μᾶλλον τιμᾶν ὑπὲρ τούτων τὰ τῶν κακούργων ὑπομένειν ἠνάγκαζε δεσμὰ καὶ τὴν ἀπὸ τῶν δεσμῶν ταλαιπωρίαν περιθείς.

DH OELSMGR v 1 κατὰ: παρὰ H μενόντων: μελλόντων DH OELv τῆς om E οὕτως D 2 λάβητε G 3 ᾖ τὸ: ἦτο in ras supra quod τε D 4 τὰ om GR 6 ἀπόνιαν E^c 7 τοῦτο EL 7 s δύναμιν:διαλούσης OEL 8 τὴν δὲ. . .τρεφουσης om E 9 s ἔλαθον: ἔλαβον M 10 φλόγαν G οὕτως D 10 s δηλεοος in δειλεοος G^c 11 χαλαιπότερα E 12 ἀπόλεσαν EG 13 ὕβρην G 14 ἀπόνοιαν om SMGR post ἐπαπεδύσατο add οὐχ ἵσταται δὲ μέχρις ἐκεῖνος· ἀλλὰ EL et(ἐκεῖνης) O τὸν om E 15 τέος O 17 ἔδη G μᾶλον S 18 κακούργων: κάυργων H 19 περιτιθεὶς G

55 Οὕτως ὅπερ ἔφην ἀρχὴν ἁμαρτία λαβοῦσα καὶ μηδένα εἰς τὸ πρόσω προβῆναι κωλύοντα ἔχουσα δυσανάσχετος καὶ ἀκάθεκτος γίνεται κατὰ τοὺς μεμηνότας τῶν ἵππων οἵ, ἐπειδὰν τὸν χαλινὸν ἀπὸ τοῦ στόματος ἐκβαλόντες καὶ τὸν ἐπιβάτην ῥίζοντες ἀπὸ τῶν νώτων ὕπτιον τοῖς ἀπαντῶσιν ἀφόρητοι γένωνται, μηδενὸς αὐτοὺς κωλύοντος ὑπὸ τῆς ἀτάκτου ῥύμης φέροντες ἑαυτοὺς κατεκρήμνισαν. Διά τοι τοῦτο εἰς μανίαν τὰς τοιαύτας ἐκφέρει ψυχὰς ὁ τῆς σωτηρίας ἡμῶν ἐχθρὸς ἵνα αὐτὰς ἐν ἐρημίᾳ τῶν θεραπευσόντων ἀπολαβὼν κατακόψῃ καὶ μυρίοις περιβάλῃ κακοῖς. Καὶ γὰρ οἱ τὰ σώματα ἀρρωστοῦντες ἕως μὲν ἂν προσίωνται τοὺς θεραπεύοντας πολλὴν τὴν ἐλπίδα τῆς ὑγιείας ἔχουσιν, ἐπειδὰν δὲ εἰς φρενῖτιν ἐκπεσόντες λακτίζωσι καὶ δάκνωσι τοὺς βουλομένους ἀπαλλάξαι τῆς ἀρρωστίας αὐτοὺς τότε νοσοῦσιν ἀνίατα οὐ διὰ τὴν τῆς νόσου φύσιν ἀλλὰ διὰ τὴν ἐρημίαν τῶν ἀπαλλάξαι δυναμένων τῆς μανίας αὐτούς, εἰς ἣν καὶ οὗτος ἑαυτὸν κατέστησε.

BDAC VH OELSMGR v 1 ἁμαρτίαν G τὸν post μηδένα add DV EM 2 πρόσω om E προβῆναι om SM τὸν ante κωλύοντα add E καὶ ἀκάθεκτος om E 3 οἵ. . .χαλινὸν om E 4 ἐκβάλωσι . . .ῥίψωσι VH OELSMGR 5 νῶτον A ὕπ in ὕπτιον bis G ἀφόρητος G γίνονται AC VH OESMGR γένωνται in ras L μηδενὸς: καὶ μηδενὸς λοιπὸν H OESR 6 λοιπὸν ante κωλύοντος add V LG αὐτοῖς ut vid D κατεκρίμνησαν AC ι in κατεκρήμνισαν in ras V 7 Διά τοι: διὰ τί G^{m} τοῦτον G ἐμφέρει G 8 ante αὐτὰς hab ἡμᾶς eras H θεραπευσάντων A GR θεραπεύσοντας σ in ras V θεραπευόντων H EL 10 μὲν om G ἂν προσίωνται: ἂν προσιόντας Dv προσίονται S ἂν προσίοντα M post θεραπεύοντας add ἀνέχωνται Vv 11 ἐλπίδας C ὑγείας BC VH OLR ὑγίας E ἔχωσιν D φρενίτην L ἐμπεσόντες H MGR –ας E 13 post τῆς iterum νοσοῦσιν ἀνίατα οὐ διὰ τὴν (p 37,13) E 14 ante τῶν duas litt forte αὐ in ras A ef leet seq τῶν: αὐτῶν C δυνάμεων G μανείας G 15 pr τ in κατέστησε G^{s}

56 Λαβὼν γὰρ τὸν ἰατρὸν τέμνοντα ἔτι τὸ τραῦμα ἀπήλασεν εὐθέως καὶ ὡς πορρωτάτω τῆς οἰκίας ἀπήγαγε. Καὶ ἦν τὸ Ἡρώδου δρᾶμα μηκέτι μόνον ἀκοῇ μανθάνειν ἀλλὰ καὶ ὄψεσι μετὰ πλείονος τῆς περιπετείας θεωρεῖν. Ἐπειδὴ καὶ μετὰ πλείονος αὐτὸ τῆς ἐπιδείξεως καὶ παρασκευῆς ὁ διάβολος πάλιν εἰς τὸ τοῦ βίου θέατρον εἰσήγαγεν ἀντὶ τετράρχου βασιλέα κατασκευάσας καὶ ἀντὶ μιᾶς αἰτίας διπλῆν ὑπόθεσιν τῷ πράγματι δοὺς καὶ πολὺ τῆς προτέρας μιαρωτέραν ὡς μὴ τῷ ἀριθμῷ μόνον ἀλλὰ καὶ αὐτῇ τῶν πραγμάτων τῇ φύσει λαμπροτέραν ταύτην γενέσθαι τὴν τραγῳδίαν. Οὐ γὰρ γάμος ἐνταῦθα ὑβρίζετο καθάπερ ἐκεῖ οὐδὲ ἀπὸ παρανόμου μίξεως ἀλλ' ἀπὸ μολυσμοῦ παιδοκτονίας ἐναγεστέρου καὶ τυραννίδος ἀπηνεστάτης καὶ παρανομίας οὐκ εἰς γυναῖκα γενομένης ἀλλ' εἰς αὐτὴν τὴν ἁγιστείαν ταύτην τὴν ἱστορίαν ἔπλεξεν ὁ πονηρός.

57 Ἐμβληθεὶς τοίνυν εἰς τὸ δεσμωτήριον ὁ μακάριος ἔχαιρε μὲν ἐπὶ τοῖς δεσμοῖς, ἤλγει δὲ ἐπὶ τῇ τοῦ δήσαντος ἀπωλείᾳ. Οὔτε γὰρ πατὴρ οὐδὲ παιδοτρίβης ὅταν ὁ μὲν ἐκ τῆς τοῦ παιδὸς ὁ δὲ ἐκ τῆς τοῦ μαθητοῦ μοχθηρίας καὶ δυσπραγίας λαμπρότεροι γίνωνται καθαρὰν ἀθυμίας τὴν ἐκ τῆς εὐδοκιμήσεως ἔχουσιν ἡδονήν. Διὰ τοῦτο καὶ ὁ μακάριος Παῦλος Κορινθίοις ἔλεγεν· "Εὐ-

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2ss cf Matt 14.1ss, Marc 6,17ss 10s cf Matt 14.3s, Marc 6,17s

15s cf Col 1.24a 20ss cf 2 Cor 13.7

BDAC VH OELSMGR v 1 ἔτι: ἐπὶ AC 2 τῆς: τοῖς O οἰκείας G 4 τῆς. . .πλείονος om E περιπεττείας C περιπατείας G αὐτὸ: αὐτῷ B 5 παρασκεβῆς E τοῦ βίου om L 6 ἀντεισήγαγεν OE ἀντισ- L κατασκευάσας: καταστήσας OELv 7 πολλύ E 8s τῇ post αὐτῇ H OL 10 Οὐ: ὁ GR ὑβρίζεται OEL 11s ἐναγέστερον AC 13 ἁγιστίαν C SG 13s ταύτην. . .πονηρός om VH OLSMGR et ut vid E^{m} 15 ad Ἐμβληθεὶς hab ὁ τοῦ Βαβύλα ἀρχ[επισκόπου] θ[άνατ]ος D^{m} ἐν τῷ δεσμωτηρίῳ AC 16 ἤλγη G 17 οὐδὲ: οὔτε ELR παιτρίβης E 18 καὶ δυσπραγίας om OEL δυσπραγίας: πραγίας H 19 γίνονται H M ἀθυμίαν H εὐθυμίας E ἐκ om M 20 γράφων ante ἔλεγεν add D πρὸς ante Κορινθίοις add E

χόμεθα δὲ μηδὲν κακὸν ποιῆσαι ὑμᾶς οὐχ ἵνα ἡμεῖς δόκιμοι φανῶμεν ἀλλ' ἵνα ὑμεῖς τὸ καλὸν ποιῆτε ἡμεῖς δὲ ὡς ἀδόκιμοι ὦμεν." Οὕτω γοῦν καὶ ἐκείνῳ τῷ θαυμαστῷ τότε ποθεινότερον 549 ἦν τῶν ἀπὸ τοῦ δεσμωτηρίου μισθῶν ἡ τοῦ μαθητοῦ σωτηρία καὶ τὸ σωφρονήσαντα ἀποστερῆσαι τούτων τῶν ἐπαίνων αὐτὸν μᾶλλον δὲ τὸ μηδὲ τὴν ἀρχὴν εἰς ταύτην αὐτὸν τὴν διαστροφὴν ἐμπεσεῖν.

58 Οἱ γὰρ ἅγιοι τοὺς στεφάνους αὐτοῖς οὐκ ἀπὸ τῶν ἀλλοτρίων βούλονται πλέκεσθαι συμφορῶν, εἰ δὲ ἀπὸ τῶν ἀλλοτρίων οὐ βούλονται πολλῷ μᾶλλον ἀπὸ τῶν τοῖς οἰκείοις συμβαινόντων κακῶν. Τούτου χάριν καὶ ὁ μακάριος Δαυὶδ μετὰ τὰ τρόπαια καὶ τὴν νίκην ἐπένθει καὶ ἐδάκρυεν ἐπειδὴ μετὰ τῆς τοῦ παιδὸς συμφορᾶς αὕτη γέγονε, καὶ τοῖς τε ἐξιοῦσι στρατηγοῖς ἐπέσκηπτεν ὑπὲρ τοῦ τυράννου πολλὰ καὶ ἀνελεῖν αὐτὸν ἐπειγομένους ἐπεῖχε λέγων "φείσασθε τοῦ παιδαρίου Ἀβεσσαλῶμ" καὶ πεσόντα ἐπένθει καὶ ἀνεκαλεῖτο τὸν ἐχθρὸν μετὰ οἰμωγῶν καὶ X δακρύων πικρῶν. Εἰ δὲ ὁ φυσικὸς πατὴρ οὕτω φιλόστοργος πολλῷ μᾶλλον ὁ πνευματικός. Ὅτι γὰρ τῶν κατὰ σάρκα οἱ κατὰ πνεῦμα γονεῖς κηδεμονικώτεροι τοῦ Παύλου λέγοντος ἄκουε· "Τίς ἀσθενεῖ καὶ οὐκ ἀσθενῶ; Τίς σκανδαλίζεται καὶ οὐκ ἐγὼ πυροῦμαι;"

11ss cf 2 Regn 18   15 cf 2 Regn 18.5   19ss 2 Cor 11.29

BDAC VH OEGR   3 post ἐκείνῳ add καὶ in ras H   5 τὸ: τὸν AC et ν in ras B   αὐτῶν H   8 τοῦ στεφάνου G   9s πλέκεσθαι . . .βούονται om E   11 χάριν: Μάριν ut vid C^m τὰ B^s om AC   12 τῆς om H   13 καὶ om H   τε: τότε OE   ἐξιοῦσι: ἀξιοῦσι GR   14 τυράνου E   ἀνελῆν E   15 φείσασθαι G^c Ἀβεσαλῶμ BC GR   16 ἐπένθη G   ἀνεκαλεῖ DAC   17 πικρῶν: πολλῶν E   πατὴρ om G   φιλόστοργος: φιλότεκνος forte ut glossam OE   18 οἱ κα ante οἱ add C   17 κηδαιμονικότεροι AC   καὶ δεμονικώτεροι E   ἄκουσον V

59 Ἀλλὰ τοῦτο μὲν τὴν ἰσότητα παρίστησιν ἡμῖν (καίτοι γε μόλις ἂν πατέρες ταύτην ἀφήσειαν τὴν φωνὴν ἀλλ' ὅμως συγχωρείσθω καὶ μέχρι τοσούτου φθάνειν αὐτούς) δεῖ δὲ τὸ πλέον ἐπιδεῖξαι λοιπόν. Πόθεν οὖν τοῦτο ἐπιδείξομεν; Ἀπὸ τῶν αὐτῶν σπλάγχνων πάλιν καὶ ἀπὸ τῶν τοῦ νομοθέτου ῥημάτων. Τί δὲ ἐκεῖνός φησιν; "Εἰ μὲν ἀφίης αὐτοῖς τὴν ἁμαρτίαν, ἄφες, εἰ δὲ μή κἀμὲ ἐξάλειψον ἐκ τῆς βίβλου ἧς ἔγραψας." Οὐδεὶς δὲ ἂν ἕλοιτο πατὴρ παρὸν μυρίων ἀπολαύειν ἀγαθῶν μετὰ τῶν τέκνων κολάζεσθαι, ὁ δὲ ἀπόστολος ἅτε ἐν τῇ χάριτι πολιτευσάμενος καὶ ταύτης ἐπίτασιν πεποίηται τῆς φιλοστοργίας διὰ τὸν Χριστόν. Οὐ γὰρ μετ' ἐκείνων κολάζεσθαι εἵλετο καθάπερ ἐκεῖνος, ἀλλ' ἵνα ἑτέροις σωθῆναι ἐκγένηται αὐτὸς ἀπολέσθαι ηὔχετο λέγων, "Ηὐχόμην ἀνάθεμα εἶναι ἀπὸ τοῦ Χριστοῦ ὑπὲρ τῶν ἀδελφῶν μου τῶν συγγενῶν μου τῶν κατὰ σάρκα." Τοσαύτη εὐσπλαγχνία καὶ φειδὼ παρὰ ταῖς τῶν ἁγίων ψυχαῖς.

60 Ὅθεν καὶ οὗτος μειζόνως διεκόπτετο τὰ σπλάγχνα τὴν ἀπώλειαν τοῦ βασιλέως περαιτέρω προιοῦσαν ὁρῶν. Οὐδὲ γὰρ μόνον ὑπὲρ τοῦ νεὼ δακνόμενος ἔπραττεν ἅπερ ἔπραττεν ἀλλὰ καὶ ὑπὸ τῆς πρὸς ἐκεῖνον εὐνοίας ἐπικαμπτόμενος. Ὁ μὲν γὰρ εἰς τὴν τοῦ θεοῦ λειτουργίαν ὑβρίζων ἐκείνην μὲν ἔβλαψεν οὐδὲν ἑαυτὸν δὲ μυρίοις περιέπειρε κακοῖς. Διόπερ ὁ φιλόπαις πατὴρ θεωρῶν κατὰ κρημνῶν ὠθούμενον τῷ θυμῷ τὸν ὑβριστὴν ἀνέχειν τὴν ἄλογον

6s cf Ex 32.32   13s cf Rom 9.3

BDAC VH OELSMGR v 2 ἀφήσαιεν Dv φήσαιεν VH LSMR ἂν φήσαιεν O φῆσαι E φησε σαιεν G 3 τοσούτου: τούτου AC VH E φθάνειν: φθάσαι A Mv 6 ἀφίης scripsimus : ἀφίεις B ἀφίῃς DACH OLMv ἀφῆς OSR ἀφεῖς E ἀφῃς G αὐτοῖς post μὲν O 7 δὲ om OE 10 ταύτην S τὸν om H EL 12 σωθῆναι om B κ in ἐκγένηται in ras B ἐκγένηται: ἔγγευηται EL 13 εὐχόμην V ESM 13s ὑπὲρ τῶν συγγενῶν μου τῶν ἀδελφῶν μου B 14 τῶν ante κατὰ om H εὐσπλαχνία G 16 σπλάχνα EG 18 ἅπερ ἔπραττεν om D Lv 19 ας in εὐνοίας in ras V Ὁ μὲν γὰρ om G μὲν om EL 20 ἐκείνον V ἔβλαψ G 21 περιέσπειρε G 22 τῷ θυμῷ om E φορὰν ἐσπούδαζεν ὥσπερ τινὰ δυσήνιον ἵππον εἰς τοὐπίσω διὰ τῆς ἐπιπλήξεως ἀνακρούσασθαι σπεύδων αὐτόν. 'Αλλ' οὐκ εἴασεν ἐκεῖνος ὁ δείλαιος ἀλλὰ τὸν χαλινὸν ἐνδακὼν καὶ ἀντιτείνας καὶ θυμῷ καὶ μανίᾳ ἀντὶ τῶν ὀρθῶν λογισμῶν ἑαυτὸν ἐκδοὺς εἰς τὰ βάραθρα τῆς ἐσχάτης ἀπωλείας ἐνέβαλε, καὶ τὸν ἅγιον τοῦ δεσμωτηρίου ἐξαγαγὼν τὴν ἐπὶ θανάτῳ ἀπαχθῆναι δεδεμένον ἐκέλευσε.

61 Καὶ ἦν ἐναντία τῶν ὁρωμένων τὰ δρώμενα. 'Ο μὲν δεδεμένος πάντων ὁμοῦ τῶν δεσμῶν ἐλύετο καὶ τῶν ἀπὸ τοῦ σιδήρου καὶ τῶν ἔτι σφοδροτέρων——φροντίδων λέγω καὶ πόνων καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἁπάντων τῶν διὰ τὸν ἐπίκηρον βίον περιισταμένων ἡμᾶς. 'Ο δὲ λελύσθαι δοκῶν καὶ σιδήρου καὶ ἀδάμαντος ἑτέροις χαλεπωτέροις 550 περιβάλλετο δεσμοῖς ταῖς σειραῖς τῶν ἁμαρτιῶν ἐπισφιγγόμενος. Μέλλων τοίνυν ὁ μακάριος ἀποσφάττεσθαι ἐκεῖνος μετὰ τοῦ σιδήρου τὸ σῶμα ταφῆναι ἐπέσκηψε δεικνὺς ὅτι τὰ δοκοῦντα ἐπονείδιστα εἶναι ταῦτα ὅταν διὰ τὸν Χριστὸν γίνηται σεμνά τέ ἐστι καὶ λαμπρὰ καὶ οὐ μόνον οὐκ ἐγκαλύπτεσθαι ἀλλὰ καὶ σεμνύνεσθαι ἐπ' αὐτοῖς χρὴ τὸν πάσχοντα, κἀν τούτῳ τὸν μακάριον Παῦλον μιμούμενος ὃς ἄνω καὶ κάτω τὰ στίγματα, τὰ δεσμά, τὴν ἅλυσιν ἔστρεφε καυχώμενος καὶ μέγα φρονῶν ἐφ' οἷς ᾐσχύνοντο ἕτεροι.

BDAC VH OELSMGR 3 ἐκεῖνος om AC ἐκεῖνος post δείλαιος OEL ἐνδάκνων B 4 ι in μανίᾳ in ras G 6 θάνατον OELSMGR δεδομένος G υ in ἐκέλευσε G^{s} 9 λέγων G 10 ἡμῖν AC 12 ἁμαρτημάτων OL περισφιγγόμενος VH OEL 13 υν in τοίνυν in ras B ἀποσφάτττεσθαι C 14 ταφῆναι τὸ σῶμα OEL ἐταφῆναι G ἐπέσκηπτε VH ἐπέσκεψε G 15 γίνωνται BDAC γένηται V OELR γίνηται: ἐστὶ SM τὸν om O τε om O 16 οὐ om E 16s ἀλλὰ καὶ σεμνύνεσθαι om et post πάσχοντα add ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐγκαλλωπίζεσθαι καὶ μέγα φρονεῖν OEL 17s μιμούμενος Παῦλον OEL Π in Παῦλον bis G 18 ὃς: ὢφ E ante ἅλυσιν duas litt in ras V 19 καυχόμενος EG μεγαλοφρονῶν AC 19 ἕτεροι. Ὅτι γὰρ ᾐσχύνοντο (p 45,1) om A

62 Ὅτι γὰρ ᾐσχύνοντο δῆλον ἡμῖν αὐτὸς ἐποίησε διὰ τῆς πρὸς τὸν Ἀγρίππαν γενομένης ἀπολογίας αὐτῷ. Λέγοντος γὰρ ἐκείνου κινδυνεύεις με ἐν ὀλίγῳ ποιῆσαι Χριστιανόν, "Ηὐξάμην ἂν τῷ θεῷ," φησίν, "καὶ ἐν ὀλίγῳ καὶ ἐν πολλῷ οὐ μόνον σὲ ἀλλὰ καὶ τοὺς περιεστῶτας πάντας γενέσθαι Χριστιανοὺς χωρὶς τῶν δεσμῶν τούτων." Οὐκ ἂν τοῦτο προσθεὶς εἰ μὴ τὸ πρᾶγμα ἐπονείδιστον εἶναι ἐδόκει τοῖς πολλοῖς. Φιλοδέσποτοι γὰρ ὄντες οἱ ἅγιοι τὰ ὑπὲρ τοῦ Δεσπότου πάθη μετὰ πολλῆς ἐδέχοντο τῆς προθυμίας καὶ φαιδρότεροι τούτοις ἐγίνοντο. Καὶ ὁ μὲν φησι· "Χαίρω ἐν τοῖς παθήμασί μου," ὁ δὲ Λουκᾶς περὶ τοῦ λοιποῦ τῶν ἀποστόλων χοροῦ τὰ αὐτὰ δὴ ταῦτα φθέγγεται. Μετὰ γὰρ τὰς πολλὰς μάστιγας ἐνεχώρουν "χαίροντες ὅτι κατηξιώθησαν ὑπὲρ τοῦ ὀνόματος ἀτιμασθῆναι."

63 Ἵν' οὖν μή τις τῶν ἀπίστων ἀνάγκην εἶναι νομίσῃ τοὺς ἄθλους καὶ κατηφείας αὐτὰ τῶν ἄθλων τὰ σύμβολα συνταφῆναι κελεύει τῷ σώματι δεικνὺς ὅτι λίαν αὐτὰ ἠσπάζετο καὶ ἐφίλει διὰ τὸ λίαν ἐκκρεμᾶσθαι τῆς ἀγάπης τοῦ Χριστοῦ. Καὶ κεῖνται

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2 cf Act Ap 26.1ss 3ss cf Act Ap 26.28s 9 Col 1.24a 12 cf Act Ap 5.41 16s Babylae ossa utrum in civitatis sepulcris communibus posita sint an in proprio trans Orontem martyrio Chrysostomus non dicit: cf GDowney Antioch-on-the-Orontes 2,47 et infra p 68,2

BDAC VH OELSMGR v 1 ἰσχύνοντο C 2 γευομένοις E 3 κινδυνεύεις με ἐν ὀλίγῳ ποιῆσαι Χριστιανὸν: ἐν ὀλίγῳ με πείθεις Χριστιανὸν γενέσθαι VH OELSMGRv post Χριστιανὸν add ὁ Παῦλος εἶπεν VH SMGRv et εἶπεν ὁ Παῦλος OEL εὐξαίμην V OELSMG εὐξάμην R 4 καὶ ante φησὶν add S φησὶν om A OELSGR καὶ post φησὶν om G 5 χωρὶς: ἄνευ VH 6 εἶναι om D 7 ἅγιοι: αὐτοὶ G 8 φαιδρότερον E 9 ι in ἐγίνοντο in ras V ἐγίγνοντο H 10 χωροῦ A 11 καὶ ante ταῦτα add E 12 φησὶ ante χαίροντες add VH OELSMGRv post ὀνόματος add τοῦ Χριστοῦ forte ut glossam B^{m2} Rv et αὐτοῦ VH OELSMG 13 ἀνάγκης DVH OELSMGR νομίσει G 13s τοὺς ἄθλους om SM 15 λίαν: σφόδρα forte ut glossam VH νῦν μετὰ τῆς τέφρας αἱ πέδαι πᾶσι παραινοῦσαι τοῖς τῶν ἐκκλησιῶν προεστῶσι κἂν δεθῆναι δέῃ, κἂν σφαγῆναι, κἂν ὁτιοῦν παθεῖν πάντα προθύμως καὶ μετὰ πολλῆς ὑπομένειν τῆς ἡδονῆς ὥστε τῆς ἐμπιστευθείσης ἡμῖν ἐλευθερίας μηδὲ τὸ τυχὸν προδοῦναι καὶ καταισχῦναι μέρος.

64 Καὶ ὁ μὲν μακάριος ἐκεῖνος οὕτω τὸν βίον κατέλυσε, τάχα δέ τις καὶ ἡμᾶς οἴεται ἐνταῦθα καταλύσειν τὸν λόγον· μετὰ γὰρ τὴν τοῦ βίου τελευτὴν οὐκ εἶναι κατορθωμάτων οὐδὲ ἀνδραγαθίας ἀφορμὰς ὥσπερ οὐδὲ τοῖς ἀθληταῖς μετὰ τὸ παρελθεῖν τοὺς ἀγῶνας στεφάνους πλέκεσθαι δυνατόν. Ἀλλ᾽ Ἕλληνες μὲν εἰκότως ταῦτα νομίζουσιν ἐπειδὴ καὶ μέχρι τοῦ παρόντος βίου τὴν ἐλπίδα συνέκλεισαν τὴν αὐτῶν, ἡμεῖς δὲ οἷς ἑτέρας ζωῆς φαιδροτέρας ἀρχὴ ἡ ἐνθάδε γίνεται τελευτὴ ταύτης ἀφεστήκαμεν τῆς ὑπονοίας καὶ δόξης. Καὶ ὅτι δικαίως σαφέστερον μὲν καὶ ἐν ἑτέρῳ δείξομεν λόγῳ, τέως δὲ καὶ τὰ μετὰ τὴν τελευτὴν τοῦ γενναίου κατορθώματα Βαβυλᾶ ἱκανὰ πίστιν μεγάλην τῷ λόγῳ παρασχεῖν.

65 Ἐπειδὴ γὰρ ἕως θανάτου περὶ τῆς ἀληθείας ἠγωνίσατο καὶ μέχρις αἵματος ἀντικατέστη πρὸς τὴν ἁμαρτίαν μαχόμενος καὶ ὥστε μὴ ἀφεῖναι τὴν τάξιν ἣν ἔταξεν αὐτὸν ὁ μέγας βασιλεὺς

10ss de vita per mortem perfecta ad quam Christiani se parant cf Basil Ad adules 2,1ss (ed Boulenger) 12s cf Marc 9.43, 1 Io 3.14 14s de vitae Christianae finibus librum scripsisse Chrysostomus fidem frangens non videtur 17 cf Apoc Io 2.10b

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BDAC VH OELSMGR v 2 δέοι VH 3 καὶ: κἂν G 4 τυχεῖν G 6 οὕτως D 7 ἡμῶν S τοὺς λόγους VH OELSMGR α in μετὰ in ras G 8 τὴν om A post εἶναι add λοιπὸν VH LMv 10 Ἕληνες S ἕλην G 10s εἰκότος O 11 νομίζουσιν ταῦτα VH 12 συνέκλησαν G 13 ἡ om G γίνηται ut vid R 15 καὶ τὰ: τὰ καὶ VH SR καὶ et τὴν om O τὰ om AC τελευτὴν D^m 15s γενναίῳ κατορθωθέντα Βαβύλᾳ DVH OELSMGRv 16 μεγάλην: μεγίστην OELSR 18 ἀντεκατέστη AC 19 αὐτὸς BAC

ἀφῆκε τὴν ψυχὴν καὶ παντὸς ἀριστέως λαμπρότερον ἐτελεύτησεν,
αὐτὸν μὲν εἶχε λοιπὸν ὁ οὐρανὸς τὸ δὲ σῶμα τὸ πρὸς τὴν ἀρισ-
τείαν διακονησάμενον ἡ γῆ καὶ διενείματο ἡ κτίσις τὸν ἀθλη-
τήν. Καίτοι γε ἐνῆν καὶ μετατεθῆναι αὐτὸν κατὰ τὸν Ἐνὼχ
καὶ ἁρπαγῆναι κατὰ τὸν Ἠλίαν οὓς ἐζήλωσεν. Ἀλλ᾽ ὁ θεὸς φιλ-
άνθρωπος ὢν καὶ μυρίας ἡμῖν τοῦ σῴζεσθαι προφάσεις διδοὺς καὶ
ταύτην μετὰ τῶν ἄλλων διέτεμεν ἡμῖν τὴν ὁδὸν ἱκανὴν παρακαλ-
έσαι πρὸς ἀρετὴν τὰ τῶν ἁγίων λείψανα παρ᾽ ἡμῖν τέως ἀφείς.
Μετὰ γὰρ τὴν διὰ τοῦ λόγου δύναμιν δευτέραν ἔχουσι τάξιν οἱ 551
τῶν ἁγίων τάφοι πρὸς τὸ διεγείρειν εἰς τὸν ἴσον ζῆλον τὰς
τῶν θεωμένων αὐτοὺς ψυχὰς καὶ εἴ πού τις ἐπιστῇ θήκῃ τοι-
αύτῃ καὶ τῆς ἐνεργείας εὐθέως ταύτης σαφῆ λαμβάνει τὴν αἴσ-
θησιν. Ἡ γὰρ ὄψις τῆς λάρνακος εἰς τὴν ψυχὴν ἐμπίπτουσα
καταπλήττει τε αὐτὴν καὶ διανίστησι καὶ ὡς αὐτοῦ τοῦ κειμέν-
ου συνευχομένου καὶ παρεστῶτος καὶ ὁρωμένου οὕτως αὐτὴν δια-
κεῖσθαι ποιεῖ. Εἶτα προθυμίας πολλῆς ὁ τοῦτο παθὼν πληρωθεὶς
καὶ ἕτερος ἀνθ᾽ ἑτέρου γενόμενος οὕτως ἐκεῖθεν ἀνέρχεται.

66 Μάθοι δ᾽ ἂν τις καλῶς ὡς ἡ φαντασία τῶν ἀπελθόντων ἀπὸ
τῶν τόπων ἐγγίνεται ταῖς τῶν ζώντων ψυχαῖς εἰς νοῦν πενθοῦντας

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4 cf Gen 5.24   5 cf 4 Regn 2.11

BDC VH OELSMGR v   2 λοιπῶν M   ὁ V^{s} α in σῶμα in ras V
4 ἐνεῖν S^{m} μετατεθῆναι: μετατεθεῖναι E   μετὰ τότε θῆναι G
7 διέτεμεν: ἔτεμε VH MGR   ἡμῖν ἔτεμε OES   γὰρ ante τὴν add G
ὁδὸν in ras G   7s παρεκαλέσαι G   10s τῶν post τὸν B
11 ἐπέστη θήκη τοιαύτη B   12 καὶ om C   ἐνεργίας E   εὐθέ-
ως om EL   17 αὐτοῦ om E   15 συνευχομένου: συνεισερχομένου
V OLSGR   συνεισαρχομένου H   αὐτὸν VH   17 ἀπέρχεται DVH
OELSMGRv   18 καλῶς: σαφῶς H

λαβὼν οἳ ἅμα τε τοῖς τῶν τεθνηκότων τάφοις ἐφίστανται καὶ ὥσπερ ἀντὶ τῆς θήκης τοὺς ἐν τῇ θήκῃ κειμένους ἑστῶτας ἰδόντες οὕτως αὐτοὺς ἀπὸ τῶν προθύρων εὐθέως ἀνακαλοῦσι. Πολλοὶ δὲ τῶν ἀφορήτως πρὸς τὰ πάθη διατεθέντων παρὰ τοῖς μνήμασι τῶν ἀπελθόντων τὸν ἅπαντα κατῴκισαν ἑαυτοὺς χρόνον οὐκ ἂν τοῦτο ποιήσαντες εἰ μή τινα παραμυθίαν ἀπὸ τῆς τῶν τόπων ἐλάμβανον ὄψεως. Καὶ τί λέγω τόπον καὶ τάφον; Καὶ γὰρ ἱμάτιον μόνον πολλάκις τῶν ἀπελθόντων ὀφθὲν καὶ ῥῆμα εἰς διάνοιαν ἐλθὸν διήγειρε τὴν ψυχὴν καὶ τὴν μνήμην ἀνέστησε διαπίπτουσαν. Διὰ ταῦτα ἡμῖν τὰ λείψανα τῶν ἁγίων ἀφῆκεν ὁ θεός.

XII 67 Καὶ ὅτι οὐχ ἁπλῶς κομπάζων ταῦτα λέγω νῦν ἀλλὰ πρὸς ὠφέλειαν τὴν ἡμετέραν τοῦτο γεγένηται ἱκανὰ μὲν τὸν λόγον πιστώσασθαι καὶ τὰ καθ' ἑκάστην ἡμέραν ὑπὸ τῶν μαρτύρων γινόμενα θαύματα καὶ τὸ πλῆθος τῶν οὕτως ἐπιστρεφόντων ἀνδρῶν, οὐχ ἧττον δὲ ἐκείνων καὶ τὰ τοῦ μακαρίου τούτου κατορθώματα τὰ μετὰ τὴν τελευτήν. Ἐπειδὴ γὰρ ἐτάφη καθὼς ἐπέσκηψε καὶ χρόνος παρῆλθε μακρὸς μετὰ τὴν ταφὴν ὡς ὀστᾶ λείπεσθαι μόνον καὶ κόνον ἐν τῇ σορῷ ἔδοξέ τινι τῶν μετὰ ταῦτα βασιλευσάντων εἰς τὸ προάστειον τουτὶ τὴν Δάφνην ἀπενεχθῆναι τὴν λάρνακα, ἔδοξε

19ss Constantius Gallus, ex eodem patre quo Iulianus natus, Caesar Orientis AD 351-354: cf Socrates HE 3,18 (PG 67,425), Sozomenus HE 5,19 (PG 67,1273-75); videas HDelehaye Les origines du culte des martyrs^2 p 54, et GDowney A History of Antioch in Syria p 364
19 hortorum Antiochiae Daphnes optimam enarrationem antiquam praebet Libanius Or 11,234-243

BDAC VH OELSMGR v 1 λα in λαβὼν in ras H τε om B 2 τῆς B^{m2} 5 κατῴκησαν C 6 ἀπὸ: ὑπὸ DA Mv 8 πολλάκις post ἀπελθόντων M τῶν om H ἀνελθὸν G ἔλθων AC 8 διήγηρε G 12 γίνεται VH OELSMGR γένεται R 14 ἐπιστρεφόντων: ἐπιτρεχόντων DVH OELSMGRv 15 ὑπὸ ante τοῦ add V τὰ ante μετὰ om BAV 18 ad τινι: τῷ Γάλῳ O ^{mγρ} σωρῷ G^c 19 τοῦτο DVH ELRv τὸν Δάφνην R

δὲ τοῦ θεοῦ πρὸς τοῦτο κινήσαντος τὴν τοῦ βασιλέως ψυχήν. Ὡς γὰρ εἶδε τὸ χωρίον ὑπὸ τῆς τῶν νέων ἀσελγείας τυραννούμενον καὶ κινδυνεῦον ἄβατον εἶναι τοῖς σεμνοτέροις καὶ ἐπιεικῶς βουλομένοις βιοῦν ἐλεήσας αὐτὸ τῆς ἐπηρείας ἔπεμψε τὸν ἀμυνοῦντα τὴν ὕβριν.

68 Ὁ μὲν γὰρ θεὸς αὐτὸ καλόν τε καὶ ἐπέραστον εἰργάσατο καὶ τῇ τῶν ὑδάτων ἀφθονίᾳ καὶ ὥρᾳ καὶ τῇ φύσει τῆς γῆς καὶ τῇ τῶν ὡρῶν εὐμοιρίᾳ οὐχ ἵνα ἁπλῶς ἀναπαυώμεθα ἀλλ' ἵνα καὶ ὑπὲρ τούτου τὸν ἀριστοτέχνην δοξάζωμεν· ὁ δὲ τῆς σωτηρίας ἡμῶν ἐχθρὸς καὶ εἰς τοὐναντίον ἀεὶ καταχρώμενος ταῖς τοῦ θεοῦ δωρεαῖς τῷ πλήθει τῶν διεφθαρμένων νέων καὶ ταῖς τῶν δαιμόνων οἰκήσεσι τὸ χωρίον προκαταλαβὼν ἐπεφήμισεν αὐτῷ τινα καὶ μῦθον αἰσχρὸν ὥστε ἀναθεῖναι διὰ τούτου τῷ δαίμονι τοῦ προαστείου τὴν χάριν. Ὁ δὲ μῦθος τοιοῦτος ἦν·

> IV, Τὴν Δάφνην κόρην οὖσάν φησι καὶ θυγατέρα τοῦ
> 312a Λάδωνος ποταμοῦ--καὶ γὰρ ποταμοὺς γεννῶντας
> Fo εἰσάγειν καὶ τὰ γεννώμενα εἰς ἀναίσθητα μεταβάλλειν καὶ πολλὰ τοιαῦτα αὐτῷ τερατεύεσθαι ἔθος ἀεὶ τοῖς πλανωμένοις--ταύτην οὖν κόρην εὔμορφον οὖσαν ἰδεῖν ποτε τὸν

15ss aut verba aut rem Daphnew historiae e Libanii de templo Apollonis Daphnaeo monodia Chrysostomum ascivisse putamus: cf infra p 75,4; Libanii opera (ed Foerster) 1,467 et 4,462; videas et JReiskius Animadversiones 4,1102

BDAC VH OELSMGR v 4 βουλευομένοις GR ἀπειρίας E 5 οῦντα in ἀμυνοῦντα in ras B 6 μὲν om B αὐτὸν S τε: τι H 8 εὐμυρίᾳ V post ἁπλῶς add ἀεὶ H 12 αἰσχρὸν in ras O 13 μῦθος L^{m} 15 κόρην O^{s} οὖσα AC 15ss ἱστορία ὅλον A^{m}C^{m} locum adlatum usque p 50,15 LR 17 μεταβάλειν G 18 αὐτῷ om VH OESGR 19 τοῖς πλανωμένοις om BAC 20 τὴν ante κόρην add DVH ELSMGR οὖν: τὴν in ras O

> Ἀπόλλω φησὶ καὶ ἰδόντα παθεῖν τι πρὸς αὐτὴν καὶ παθόντα διώκειν ὥστε ἑλεῖν. Τὴν δὲ φεύγειν καὶ φεύγουσαν ἐπιστῆναί τε τῷ προαστείῳ, καὶ τὴν μητέρα τὴν ὕβριν ἀμῦναι ταύτην αὐτῇ διαστῆναί τε γὰρ εὐθέως καὶ δέξασθαι τὴν παρθένον καὶ ἀντὶ τῆς παιδὸς 552 ἀναδοῦναι φυτὸν ὁμώνυμον τῇ παιδί, τὸν δὲ ἀκόλαστον ἐραστὴν ἀποτυχόντα τῶν παιδικῶν περιπλακῆναί τε τῷ δένδρῳ καὶ οἰκειώσασθαι καὶ τὸ φυτὸν καὶ τὸν τόπον καὶ προσεδρεύειν τῷ χωρίῳ λοιπὸν καὶ τοῦτο πάσης τῆς γῆς μάλιστα ἀσπάζεσθαι καὶ φιλεῖν. Κελεῦσαί τε τὸν βασιλεύοντα τότε νεὼν αὐτῷ δείμασθαι καὶ βωμὸν ἵν' ἔχῃ παραμυθεῖσθαι διὰ τοῦ τόπου τὴν μανίαν ὁ δαίμων.

Καὶ ὁ μὲν μῦθος οὗτος ἡ δὲ ἀπὸ τοῦ μύθου γινομένη βλάβη οὐκέτι μῦθος ἦν.

69 Ἐπειδὴ γὰρ οἱ τῶν νέων ἀκόλαστοι φθάσαντες ὅπερ ἔφην ἐξύβρισαν τὸ τοῦ προαστείου κάλλος ἐπὶ κώμαις καὶ μέθαις τὰς ἐκεῖ ποιούμενοι διατριβάς, βουλόμενος τοῦτο ἐπιδοθῆναι τὸ κακὸν ὁ διάβολος τόν τε μῦθον ἔπλασε καὶ τὸν δαίμονα κατῴκι-

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13ss cf infra p 78, 4   14s cf infra p 80,12s   19 cf Gal 5.21a

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DAC VH OELSMGR v   1 Ἀπόλλωνα H OELSMGR   φασι DA VH OELSMRv   4 ἀμῦναι τὴν ὕβριν VH OLSM et ἀ bis G   6 τὴν: τὸν H   7 ὁμώνυμον: ἐπώνυμον DAC VH OLSMGRv   ἐπώνυμων E   τὸν: τοῦ G   11 χρόνῳ in χωρίῳ H^{c} 12 κελεύων post corr G   13 αὐτῶν G   14 παραμυθίαν O   15 τῆς μανίας OE   16 μῦθος R^{m} γενομένη DAH Lv   18 Ἐπειδὴ: ἐπεὶ OLGR   ἒ in ἔφην in ras C   19 εἰς ante τὸ add VH OELSMGR   τὸ: τὸν GR   21 τόν τε: τότε E   21s κατῴκησεν G

σεν ὡς καὶ ἀσελγείας καὶ ἀσεβείας ὑπέκκαυμα γενέσθαι μεῖζον τὴν ἱστορίαν ταύτην αὐτοῖς. Πρὸς δὴ τὴν λύσιν τῶν τοσούτων κακῶν εὗρε ταύτην τὴν σοφωτάτην μηχανὴν ὁ βασιλεὺς τὸ μετοικίσαι τε τὸν ἅγιον καὶ πέμψαι τὸν ἰατρὸν πρὸς τοὺς κάμνοντας. Διατάξει μὲν οὖν καὶ αὐθεντίᾳ βασιλικῇ τὴν εἰς τὸ προάστειον ἐγκόπτειν ὁδὸν τοῖς τὴν οἰκουμένην οἰκοῦσιν ἐδόκει τυραννίδος ἔργον εἶναι μᾶλλον καὶ ὠμότητος καὶ ἀγροικίας πολλῆς. Εἰ δὲ προσέθηκεν ὅτι "οἱ μὲν ἐπιεικέστεροι καὶ μετριώτεροι ἀναβαινέτωσαν οἱ δὲ ἀσελγεῖς καὶ ἀκόλαστοι κωλυέσθωσαν," ἄπορον ἦν τὸ ἐπίταγμα καὶ δίκας ἐχρῆν καθ' ἑκάστην γίνεσθαι τὴν ἡμέραν τῆς ἑκάστου κρινομένης ζωῆς. Μόνον δὲ τῶν τοσούτων δεινῶν διέξοδον ἀρίστην τὴν τοῦ μακαρίου γενέσθαι παρουσίαν· τήν τε γὰρ τοῦ δαίμονος διαλῦσαι δύναμιν καὶ τὴν νέων ἐπιστρέψαι διάχυσιν ἱκανὸν εἶναι τὸν μάρτυρα. Καὶ οὐκ ἐσφάλη τῆς ἐλπίδος.

70 Ἅμα τε γὰρ ἐφίσταταί τις τῇ Δάφνῃ καὶ τὸ μαρτύριον εὐθέως ἀπὸ τῶν τοῦ προαστείου προθύρων ἰδὼν συστέλλεται καθάπερ τις νέος ἐν συμποσίῳ παιδαγωγὸν θεασάμενος ἐφεστῶτα καὶ παρα-

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6s Chrysostomus pro Galli virtute contra obtrectatores paganos sicut Amm Marc 14,1,7 propugnare videtur: cf EGibbon Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire 1,601s (ed Smeaton)   16 cf Lib Or 11,234   17ss cf Iul Misop 351c (ed Bidez)

DAC VH OELSMGR v   1 δὲ post ὡς add OEL   ἀσεβείας καὶ ἀσελγείας VH OEL   2 δή: δὲ V OSGv et om EL   τοιούτων VH OEG   5 αὐθεντείᾳ C O   6 οἰκουμένην [scil πόλιν]: πόλιν VH OELSMGRv   7 ἀγροικίας in ras D   8 προέθηκεν DV ELSMRv   9 οἱ δὲ. . . κωλυέσθωσαν om AC   10 ἐπίταγμα: πράγμα E   11 δεινῶν: δεσμῶν V OELSMG   δεομένων H   14 διάχρυσιν H^{c} μάρτυραν G   16 τε om EL   17 προαστείου: νεὼ OEL   18 παιδαγωγὼν C κελευόμενον διὰ τῆς ὄφεως ἐν τάξει τῇ προσηκούσῃ πίνειν τε καὶ ἐσθίειν καὶ φθέγγεσθαι καὶ γελᾶν, φυλαττόμενον μή που τὸ μέτρον ὑπερβὰς τὴν δόξαν αἰσχύνῃ τὴν ἑαυτοῦ. Γενόμενος δὲ ὑπὸ τῆς ὄφεως εὐλαβέστερος καὶ τὸν μακάριον φαντασθεὶς πρὸς τὴν λάρνακα εὐθέως ἐπείγεται, καὶ ἐλθὼν ἐκεῖ μείζονά τε προσλαμβάνει φόβον καὶ πᾶσαν ὀλιγωρίαν ἐκβαλῶν καὶ γενόμενος πτηνὸς οὕτως ἄπεισι. Καὶ τοὺς μὲν ἐκ τῆς πόλεως ἀνιόντας δεχόμενος ἀπὸ τῆς ὁδοῦ μετὰ τοιαύτης σωφροσύνης παραπέμπει πρὸς τὴν τῆς Δάφνης ἀνάπαυσιν μόνον οὐκ ἐκείνην αὐτοῖς ἐπιβοῶν τὴν φωνὴν "αγαλλιᾶσθε τῷ Κυρίῳ ἐν τρόμῳ," καὶ τὸ ἀποστολικὸν προστιθεὶς εἴτε ἐσθίετε εἴτε πίνετε εἴτε τι ποιεῖτε, πάντα εἰς δόξαν θεοῦ ποιεῖτε," τοὺς δὲ εἰς τὴν πόλιν κατιόντας μετὰ τὴν τρυφὴν εἰ συμβαίη ῥᾳθυμότερον διατεθέντας ἀπορρῖψαι τὸν χαλινὸν καὶ εἰς κραιπάλην καὶ εἰς ἄτοπον ἐξενεχθῆναι τρυφὴν δεξάμενος πάλιν μεθύοντας εἰς τὸ αὐτοῦ καταγώγιον οὐκ ἀφίησι τὴν ἀπὸ τῆς μέθης βλάβην ἔχοντας οἴκαδε ἀπελθεῖν, ἀλλὰ σωφρονίσας τῷ φόβῳ πρὸς τὴν αὐτὴν ἐπανάγει νῆψιν ἣν καὶ πρὸ τοῦ τῇ μέθῃ βαπτισθῆναι ἐφύλαττον. Καὶ γὰρ ὥσπερ τις αὖρα λεπτὴ τοὺς ἐν τῷ μαρτυρίῳ γενομένους περιπνεῖ πάντοθεν——αὖρα οὐκ αἰσθητή τις οὐδὲ σωμάτων αὐξητικὴ ἀλλ᾽ εἰς αὐτὴν ἱκανὴ διαδῦναι τὴν

1s cf 1 Cor 10.31 10 Ps 2.11b 11s 1 Cor 10.31

BDAC VH OELSMGR v 1 ἐν τάξει G^{m} τάξει post προσηκούσῃ G 2 φυλαττόμενος VH 3 δὲ om AC 7 οὗτος B 9 οὐχὶ G ἐπιβοῶν in ras B ἐπιβοῶν αὐτοῖς M 11 αἰσθίετε G 12s τροφὴν V OELSGRv τροφὴν H^{c} τρ[α aut ο]- M 14s καὶ εἰς ἄτοπον. . .μεθύοντας om E 14 εἰς ante ἄτοπον om E 15 μεθύοντας post καταγώγιον V OSMGR et μεθύα- H^{c} αὐτῷ H 16 οἴκαδε ἀπελθεῖν, ἀλλὰ σωφρονήσας G^{m} σωφρονήσας D 17 ἐπανάγειν G τοῦ: τοῦτου G^{c} 18 ἄσπερ V^{c} 19 γινομένους V OELSMGR περιπνεῖν G 20 αὐξητικὴ in ras D διαδῦναι: διαβῆναι H τὴν om H ψυχήν--καὶ καταστέλλουσα πάντοθεν αὐτὴν εὐσχημόνως καὶ πᾶν γήινον περικόπτουσα βάρος ἀναπαύει τε καὶ κουφοτέραν ἐργάζεται τὴν βεβαρημένην καὶ καταπίπτουσαν.

XIII 71 Καὶ τὸ μὲν Δάφνης κάλλος καὶ τοὺς ῥαθυμοτέρους ἐκκαλεῖται 553
πρὸς ἑαυτήν, ὁ δὲ μάρτυς καθάπερ ἐν ἀλείᾳ τινὶ καθήμενος καὶ λοχῶν τοὺς εἰσιόντας κατέχει τέως αὐτούς, καὶ ῥυθμίσας πρότερον οὕτως ἀφίησιν οὐδὲ ὑβριστικῶς ἀλλὰ σεμνῶς τῇ ἐρωμένῃ χρησομένους λοιπόν. Ἐπειδὴ γὰρ τῶν ἀνθρώπων οἱ μὲν διὰ ῥαθυμίαν οἱ δὲ διὰ φροντίδας βιωτικὰς οὐκ ἐθέλουσιν εἰς τὰς τῶν μαρτύρων θήκας ἀπαντᾶν, ᾠκονόμησεν ὁ θεὸς τούτῳ σαγηνεύεσθαι τῷ τρόπῳ καὶ τῆς θεραπείας αὐτοὺς ἀπολαύειν τῆς ἐν τῇ ψυχῇ. Καὶ γίνεται παρόμοιον ὥσπερ ἂν εἴ τις τὸν κάμνοντα ὠφέλιμα φάρμακα προσίεσθαι μὴ καταδεχόμενον μεθοδεύσειεν ἡδύσματι τὸ φάρμακον ἐγκατακρύψας τινί.

72 Τῷ γοῦν χρόνῳ θεραπευόμενοι εἰς τοῦτο κατέστησαν ὡς μηκέτι τὴν τρυφὴν μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῦ ἁγίου τὴν ἐπιθυμίαν τῆς ἐπὶ τὸ προάστειον ἀνόδου πρόφασιν γίνεσθαι τοῖς πολλοῖς. Μᾶλλον δὲ οἱ μὲν ἐπιεικέστεροι διὰ τοῦτο μόνον ἐκεῖσε ἔρχονται, οἱ δὲ ἐκείνων ἐλάττους δι' ἀμφότερα, οἱ δὲ ἔτι τούτων ἀτελέστερον διακείμενοι διὰ μόνην μὲν ἀναβαίνουσι τὴν τρυφήν.

12ss cf Plato Leges 659e; Lucret 1,936; Hor Serm 1,1,25

BDA(a p 53,16 ἀλ[λὰ] usque p 59,4 πρὸς lac praebet A)C VH OELSMGR
2 ἀναπαύει τε: ἀναπαύεται B ἀναπαύη G 4 καὶ ante τοὺς om OE
4s ἐκβαλεῖται G 5 ἀλείᾳ: αὐλίῳ VH OLSMGR ad ἀλείᾳ schol illeg G 6 τέως: τε B OEG ῥυθμήσας D 7 ε post οὕτως A^s
οὐδὲ: οὐ V οὐχ H OELSMGR σεμνὸς AC 8s ῥαθυμίας H
11 αὐτοὺς om VH ἀπολαύειν: ἀπολάβειν G 12 οιον in παρόμοιον in ras G ὠφέλημα B 13 προίεσθαι AC ἡδύσματα G
14 φαρμα G 15 ad Τῷ γοῦν schol illeg H 16 ἀλλὰ: ἀλ A
τὴν ante ἐπιθυμίαν om MG τὴν ἐπιθυμίαν τοῦ ἁγίου V S
τὴν τοῦ ἁγίου ἐπιθυμίαν OL 17 γένεσθαι D 19 ἐκείνων: τούτων OELSR 20 μὲν om V S

Ἐπειδὰν δὲ παραγένωνται καλέσας αὐτοὺς ὁ μάρτυς καὶ ἑστιάσας τοῖς αὐτοῦ καὶ καθοπλίσας καλῶς οὐδὲν ἀφίησι δεινὸν παθεῖν. Καὶ ἔστιν ὁμοίως θαυμαστὸν τὸ ἐκεῖ γινόμενον, σωφρονῆσαί τινα τῶν ἁβρῶν καὶ ῥαθύμων, οἷον ἐκ μέσης μανίας ἀνενεγκεῖν ἢ εἰς κάμινον ἐμπεσόντα μηδὲν ὑπὸ τοῦ πυρὸς παθεῖν. Τῆς γὰρ νεότητος καὶ τῆς τόλμης τῆς ἀλόγου καὶ τοῦ οἴνου καὶ τῆς πλησμονῆς φλογὸς χαλεπώτερον περιισταμένων τοὺς λογισμούς, ἡ παρὰ τοῦ μακαρίου δρόσος διὰ τῶν ὄψεων εἰς τὴν τῶν ὁρώντων καταβαίνουσα ψυχὴν τήν τε φλόγα ἐκοίμισε καὶ τὸν ἐμπρησμὸν ἔστησε καὶ πολλὴν τῆς διανοίας κατέσταξε τὴν εὐλάβειαν.

73 Καὶ τῆς μὲν ἀσελγείας τὴν τυραννίδα οὕτως ὁ μακάριος κατέλυσε——πῶς δὲ καὶ τοῦ δαίμονος τὴν δύναμιν ἔσβεσε; Πρῶτον μὲν τούτοις αὐτοῖς ἄπρακτον αὐτοῦ καὶ τὴν προσεδρείαν καὶ τὴν ἀπὸ τοῦ μύθου βλάβην ἐργασάμενος ὕστερον δὲ καὶ αὐτὸν ἀπελάσας τὸν δαίμονα. Πρὶν ἢ δὲ τὸν τρόπον τῆς διώξεως εἰπεῖν ἐκεῖνο ὑμᾶς ἐπισημήνασθαι ἀξιῶ, ὅτι οὐκ εὐθέως αὐτὸν ἀνελθὼν ἐξέβαλεν ἀλλὰ μένοντα εἰργάσατο ἄπρακτον καὶ ἐπεστόμισε καὶ τῶν λίθων ἀπέφηνεν ἀφωνότερον, τοῦ δὲ ἀπελάσαι τὸ μένοντος περιγενέσθαι οὐκ ἔλαττον ἦν. Καὶ ὁ πάντας πανταχοῦ πρότερον ἀπατῶν οὐδὲ πρὸς τὴν κόνιν ἀντιβλέψαι ἐτόλμησε τοῦ μακαρίου Βαβύλα. Τοσαύτη τῶν ἁγίων ἡ δύναμις ὧν ζώντων μὲν οὐδὲ τὰς σκιὰς φέρουσιν

BDAC VH OELSMGR v 1 παραγένονται G αὐτοῖς OELSM τοῖς αὐτοῖς G 3 post ὁμοίως iterum καθοπλίσας. . .ὁμοίως (p 54,2) E τὸ om B ἐκεῖ τὸ C γενόμενον C γινόμενον ἐκεῖ OELSMR σωφρονίσαι S 4 καὶ ante οἷον add AH ERv ἀνενεγκόντα OEL ἀνενεγκόντων SMGR 5 τὴν ante κάμινον add V 7 alt ε in χαλεπώτερον in ras E 9 ἐκοίμησε G ἐμπρισμὸν C 11 τὴν τυραννίδα in ras C 12 Πρώτοις BCC 13 ἀπὸ: ὑπὸ B 14 s καὶ αὐτὸν. . .Πρὶν ἢ G^{m2} 15 δὲ om G 16 ἐπισημήνεσθαι B ἐπισημάνασθαι C 17 ἐπιστόμισε G 17s ἀπ$\overset{ξ}{ό}$φηνει G 18 ἀφονώτερον L μένοντα V R μόνοντα in μέ- G^{c} περιγίνεσθαι V 20 ἀποβλέψαι D Βαβυλᾶ BC To in Τοσαύτη bis G 21 ζόντων G

οὐδὲ τὰ ἱμάτια, τελευτησάντων δὲ καὶ τὰς λάρνακας τρέμουσιν.
Ὥστε εἴ τις ἀπιτεῖ τοῖς ὑπὸ τῶν ἀποστόλων γεγενημένοις
τὰ παρόντα θεωρῶν παυέσθω τῆς ἀναισχυντίας ποτέ. Ὁ γὰρ
πάντα τὰ τῶν Ἑλλήνων πάλαι νικῶν καθάπερ ὑπὸ δεσπότου τοῦ
μάρτυρος ἐπτιμηθεὶς ἐπαύσατο τῆς ὑλακῆς καὶ οὐδὲν ἐφθέγγετο.

74 Καὶ τὸ μὲν πρῶτον ἐδόκει διὰ τὸ μὴ μετέχειν θυσιῶν καὶ
τῆς ἄλλης θεραπείας τοῦτο ποιεῖν. Τοιοῦτος γὰρ ὁ δαιμόνων
τρόπος· ὅταν μὲν τῇ κνίσῃ καὶ τῷ καπνῷ καὶ τοῖς αἵμασιν αὐτοὺς
θεραπεύωσι καθάπερ κύνες αἱμοβόροι καὶ λίχνοι παραγίνονται
λάφοντες, ὅταν δὲ μηδεὶς ὁ ταῦτα παρέχων ᾗ καθάπερ τινὶ
λιμῷ διαφθείρονται, καὶ τῶν μὲν θυσιῶν καὶ τῶν αἰσχρῶν ἐπιτελουμένων
τελετῶν--οὐδὲν γὰρ αὐτῶν ἕτερον τὰ μυστήρια ἀλλ' ἢ
ἔρωτες ἄτοποι καὶ παίδων ὕβρεις καὶ γάμων διαφθοραὶ καὶ οἰκιῶν 554
ἀνατροπαί (τῶν γὰρ φόνων τοὺς σκαιοὺς τρόπους καὶ τὰ τῶν
φόνων ἀνομώτερα δεῖπνα ἀφίημι νῦν)--ἀλλ' ὅμως τούτων μὲν τελουμένων
πάρεισι καὶ εὐφραίνονται κᾂν κακοῦργοι κᾂν γόητες
κᾂν λοιμοὶ οἱ ταῦτα τελοῦντες ὦσι. Μᾶλλον δὲ οὐδέ εἰσιν ἕτεροί
τινες οἱ ταῦτα διακονούμενοι. Σώφρων γὰρ ἀνὴρ καὶ ἐπιεικὴς
καὶ σεμνὸς οὐκ ἂν ἀνάσχοιτο κώμου καὶ μέθης οὐδὲ ῥῆμα
αἰσχρὸν οὔτε αὐτὸς ἐκβαλεῖν οὔτε ἑτέρου τινὸς τοιαῦτα ἀσχη-

3ss etenim Panhellenes Apollinem coluerunt quamquam duo eius fana Delphoi terra insula Delos clarissima erant 19ss cf Arist EN 1128a23

BDC VH OELSMGR v 1 τὰς: τοὺς C 2 ὑπὸ: ἀπὸ EL 4 πάλαι E νικῶν: κυκῶν V OSG τοῦ ante δεσπότου add G 8 μὲν eras O et om EL κνίσσῃ DCH Lv 9 θεραπεύοσι G^c 9s παραγεύονται M 10 λάμφοντες M 11 λύμω G 12 τελευτῶν G^s αὐτοῖς GR ἕτερον αὐτῶν OL 13 διαφθορά C 14s τοὺς. . .φόνων om G 14 σκαιοὺς: καυνοὺς V OELSMR 15 ν in τούτων O^s 17 λυμοὶ C 20 ἐμβαλλεῖν G ἐμβαλεῖν R μονοῦντος ἀκοῦσαι. Καίτοι γε ἐχρῆν εἰ τῆς ἀρετῆς ἐπεμελεῖτο τῆς ἀνθρωπίνης καὶ τῆς εὐζωίας τῶν προσκειμένων αὐτῷ λόγον εἶχε βραχὺν πλέον βίου ζητεῖν ἀρίστου καὶ τρόπων ὀρθότητος καὶ τὴν ἀσχήμονα πᾶσαν ἐκείνην ἀφεῖναι θοίνην. Ἀλλ' ἐπειδὴ τῆς τῶν ἀνθρώπων ἀπωλείας αὐτοῖς οὐδὲν προτιμότερον τούτοις καὶ τέρπονται καὶ τιμᾶσθαι λέγουσιν ἃ τὸν βίον ἀνατρέπειν εἴωθε τὸν ἡμέτερον καὶ πάντα ἐκ βάθρων ἀνασπᾶν τὰ καλά.

XIV 75 Τὸ μὲν οὖν πρῶτον ἐδόκει καὶ οὗτος διὰ τοῦτο σιγᾶν ἠλέγχετο δὲ ὕστερον ἰσχυρᾷ πεπεδημένος ἀνάγκῃ. Ὁ γὰρ ἀναγκάζων φόβος αὐτὸν ἀντὶ χαλινοῦ τινος ἐπικείμενος ἐκώλυε τῇ συνήθει χρῆσθαι κατὰ τῶν ἀνθρώπων ἀπάτῃ. Πόθεν τοῦτο δῆλον; Ἀλλὰ μὴ θορυβηθῆτε. Πρὸς γὰρ αὐτὴν βαδιοῦμαι τὴν ἀπόδειξιν μεθ' ἣν οὐδὲ τοῖς μεμελετηκόσιν ἀναισχυντεῖν ἐξέσται τοῦτο ποιεῖν, οὐ περὶ τῶν παλαιῶν ἐκείνων, οὐ περὶ τῆς τοῦ μάρτυρος δυνάμεως, οὐ περὶ τῆς τοῦ δαίμονος ἀσθενείας. Οὐδὲ γὰρ δέομαι στοχασμοῖς τισι καὶ δι' εἰκότων τοῦτο ποιῆσαι φανερὸν ἀλλ' αὐτὴν τοῦ δαίμονος τὴν ὑπὲρ τούτων παρέξομαι μαρτυρίαν. Αὐτὸς γὰρ ὑμῖν καιρίαν ἔδωκε τὴν πληγὴν καὶ τὴν παρρησίαν ὑμῶν πᾶσαν ἐξέκοψεν. Ἀλλὰ μὴ ὀργίζεσθε αὐτῷ. Οὐ γὰρ ἑκὼν τὰ αὑτοῦ κατέβαλεν ἀλλὰ ἀναγκαζόμενος ὑπὸ μείζονος δυνάμεως τοῦτο ἔπραττε.

11ss μὴ θορυβηθῆτε in Graecorum orationibus vox nota (Plat Apol 17c, 30c) saepe reperitur in Chrysostomi libris et epistulis quasi dictis : cf huius Quod nemo laeditur 1,59 (ed Malingrey) 15s cf Soph Ant 241s 18 cf infra p 92,10

BC VH OELSMGR 1 ad Καίτοι schol illeg V 2 προσκειμένων: τῷ γοῦν κειμένων H λόγων C 3 βραχὴν E βίου in ras V 4 ἐκείνην post θοίνην OEL ἀφεῖναι in ras G 5 οὐδὲν αὐτοῖς H προτιμώτερον C E 6 τέρπασθαι H^c ἃ bis C αἳ M 8 τὸ; ὁ C διὰ bis G σιγᾶν post οὗτος G σιγᾶν διὰ τοῦτο R 8s ἐλέγχετο E 10 ἐκωλύετο G συνήθειᾳ C 11 χρήσασθαι et in marg χρῆσθαι V 12 θορυβήσητε B 14 παλαιᾶν V 15 οὐ περὶ. . . δαίμονος om H τοῦ bis E Οὐδὲ: οὐ OEL 16 εἰκότων: εἰκόνων CV OESMG 18 καὶ ρίαν G 19 ὀργίζεσθαι G τὰ αὐτοῦ: ταῦτα VH OELSGR κατέβαλλεν G ἀλλὰ: ἀλλ' O

76 Πῶς δὲ τοῦτο γέγονε καὶ τίς ὁ τρόπος; Τοῦ βασιλέως τελευτήσαντος τοῦ τὸν μάρτυρα ἀναγαγόντος τὸν ἀδελφὸν τὸν ἐκείνου παρήγαγεν εἰς μέσον διαδεξόμενον τὴν ἀρχὴν ὁ καὶ ἐκείνῳ πρότερον δοὺς τὴν τιμήν, καὶ δέχεται χωρὶς τοῦ διαδήματος τὴν βασιλείαν οὗτος. Τοσοῦτον γὰρ καὶ τῆς τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ τοῦ τετελευτηκότος ἐξουσίας τὸ μέτρον ἦν. Γόης δὲ ὦν καὶ μιαρὸς τὸ μὲν πρῶτον τὰ τοῦ Κυρίου φρονεῖν ὑπεκρίνατο διὰ τὸν τὴν ἀρχὴν αὐτῷ δεδωκότα, ὡς δὲ καὶ οὗτος τὸν βίον μετήλλαξε ῥίψας τὸ προσωπεῖον λοιπὸν γυνμῇ τῇ κεφαλῇ ἣν πάλαι ἔχων δεισιδαιμονίαν ἔκρυπτε ταύτην εἰς μέσον ἐξήγαγε καὶ πᾶσιν ἐποίησε φανερὰν καὶ προστάγματα πανταχοῦ τῆς οἰκουμένης κατεπέμπετο τοὺς ναοὺς ἐπισκευάζεσθαι τῶν εἰδώλων, τοὺς βωμοὺς ἀνίστασθαι, τὰς παλαιὰς τοῖς δαίμοσιν ἀποδίδοσθαι τιμάς, προσόδους αὐτοῖς γίνεσθαι πολλὰς πολλαχόθεν.

5ss Constantius Augustus Galli et Iuliani patruelis erat qui Gallo mortuo Occidentis Caesarem Iulianum fecit (AD 355) historiae Iuliani fontes ipsius et Libanii scripturae; huius aetatis de Iuliano litteras perscribit APiganiol L'Empire chrétien pp 110-111 Chrysostomi narratio nomina definita evitat, quod sophistorum novorum esse demonstrat ANorman Libanius' Autobiography p 151 6ss de Iuliani adulescentis Christianitate vera (AD 337-351) videas JBidez La vie de l'empereur Julien p 28s 8ss deorum cultum restitui AD 361 decrevit Iulianus: Amm Marc 22,5,2 9 γυμνῇ τῇ κεφαλῇ fuit proverbium Graecum: cf Corpus paroem graec 1, App 1,85; 2,GCL 1,81

BDC VH OELSMGR v 2 ἀναγαγόντος: μεταθέντος VH OLSMGRv μεταθέμενος E τὸν ante μάρτυρα om E ad ἀδελφὸν: τὸν ἀσεβῆ Ἰουλιανὸν E^mL^m 3 ad ὁ: ὁ Κωνστάν⟨τιος⟩ E^mL^m 5s ad ἀδελφοῦ: τοῦ εὐσεβοῦς Γάλου E^mL^m 5 ἀδελφοῦ BC VH 6 τελευτηκότος C et -ως G^c ad Γόης: schol illeg D ὦν: ἦν G 7 Κυρίου: Χριστοῦ DVH OELSMGR ὑπεκρίνετο VH LSMGR 8 διὰ τὸν: διὰ τὸ V διὰ τοῦ G αὐτῷ: αὐτὸν εἶναι V S αὐτὸν GR τὸν ante δεδωκότα add V 9 καὶ ante τὸ add V SGR παλαιὰν VH OESG 11 ἐποίει BC 12 ἐπισκιάγεσθαι SMG 12s τοῖς βωμοῖς M 14 πολλαχόθεν: πανταχόθεν C

77 Ἐντεῦθεν μάγοι καὶ γόητες καὶ μάντεις καὶ οἰωνοσκόποι καὶ μηναγύρται καὶ πάσης ἐργαστήρια μαγγανείας πάντοθεν ἀπὸ τῆς οἰκουμένης συνέτρεχον καὶ ἦν ἰδεῖν τὰ βασίλεια ἀνδρῶν ἀτίμων καὶ φυγάδων πληρούμενα. Οἱ μὲν γὰρ ὑπὸ τοῦ λιμοῦ πάλαι διαφθειρόμενοι--οἱ δὲ ἐπὶ ταῖς φαρμακείαις καὶ ταῖς κακουργίαις ἑάλωσαν δεσμωτήριά τε οἰκοῦντες καὶ μέταλλα ἐργαζόμενοι--ἄλλοι δὲ ἐπιτηδευμάτων αἰσχρῶν μόλις δυνάμενοι διαζῆν 555
ἱερεῖς καὶ ἱεροφάνται ἀναφανέντες ἐξαίφνης ἐν πολλῇ ἦσαν τῇ τιμῇ. Καὶ ὁ βασιλεὺς στρατηγοὺς μὲν καὶ ἄρχοντας παρεπέμπετο καὶ οὐδενὸς ἠξίου λόγου, ἄνδρας δὲ ἠταιρηκότας καὶ τὰς ἀπὸ τοῦ τέγους γυναῖκας ἀναστήσας ἀπὸ τῶν οἰκημάτων ἐν οἷς προεστήκεσαν μεθ᾽ ἑαυτοῦ τὴν πόλιν ἅπασαν περιῆγε καὶ τοὺς στενωπούς. Καὶ ὁ μὲν ἵππος ὁ βασιλικὸς καὶ οἱ δορυφόροι πάντες ὄπισθεν ἐκ πολλοῦ τοῦ διαστήματος εἵποντο, πορνοβόσκοι δὲ ἄνδρες καὶ γυναῖκες προαγωγοὶ καὶ πᾶς ὁ τῶν ἠταιρηκότων χορὸς τὸν βασιλέα κυκλώσαντες εἶχον ἐν μέσῳ διὰ τῆς ἀγορᾶς βαδίζοντες καὶ τοιαῦτα φθεγγόμενοι καὶ οὕτως ἀνακακχάζοντες ὡς τοὺς ἐκ τῆς ἐργασίας ἐκείνης εἰκὸς ἦν.

1ss cf Amm Marc 23,5,10 de magis apud Iulianum valentibus auctoritate et videas Lib Or 18,126ss; Rufin HE 10,34 quorum clarissimus fuit Maximus Ephesus, philosophus Neoplatonicus, sec Amm Marc 22,7,3 et Eunapius Vitae soph pp 48-51, 55 (ed Boissonade)

BDC VH OELSMGR v 2 μηναγύρτης V^{m} μαγκανείας O et ε om L 4 γὰρ in ras H τοῦ om B λομοῦ C 5 πάλαῖ O pr ταῖς om O 6 ἑαλωκότες VH ἁλόντες OELSMGR καὶ om DC μέταλλα om O 7 δια[ ]ζεῖν C 8 ἱεροῖς E ἐξέφνης C ἐξαίφνης: ἀθρόως VH OELSMGR τῇ om ELG 9 ἀπεπέμπετο VH 10 ἠταιρικότας C ἠτετηρηκότας G 11 γυναίκας post ἀναστήσας VH 11s παρεστήκεσαν V 12 ἑαυτῶν D αὐτοῦ H 12s καὶ τοὺς στενωπούς om EL 16 ἦχον G 16s βαδίζοντες καὶ τοιαῦτα om OEL 17 ἀνακαγχάζοντες DH OELSMGRv sed cf LSJ sv κακχάζω, καχάζω 18 ἐκ om E

78 Ταῦτα δὲ οἴδαμεν ὅτι τοῖς μεθ' ἡμᾶς γενησομένοις καὶ ἄπιστα εἶναι δόξει διὰ τὴν τῆς ἀτοπίας ὑπερβολήν. Οὐδὲ γὰρ ἂν ἰδιώτην τῶν εὐτελῶς καὶ αἰσχρῶς βεβιωκότων ἑλέσθαι τοιαῦτα δημοσίᾳ ἀσχημονεῖν. Ἀλλὰ πρὸς μὲν τοὺς ἔτι ζῶντας οὐδενὸς δέομαι λόγου· οἱ γὰρ παρόντες καὶ θεασάμενοι ταῦτα γινόμενα οὗτοι καὶ λεγόμενα ἀκούουσι νῦν. Διὰ γάρ τοι τοῦτο τῶν μαρτύρων ἔτι περιόντων γράφω ἵνα μή τίς με τὰ παλαιὰ διηγούμενον ἐν οὐκ εἰδόσι μετὰ πολλῆς ψεύδεσθαι τῆς ἐξουσίας νομίζοι. Τῶν γὰρ ταῦτα θεασαμένων ἔτι καὶ γέροντες καὶ νέοι περίεισιν οὓς ἀξιῶ πάντας εἴ τι παρ' ἐμοῦ προστέθειται προσιέναι καὶ διελέγχειν. Ἀλλὰ προστεθέντα μὲν οὐκ ἂν ἐλέγξαιεν ἐλλείποντα δὲ μόνον, οὐδὲ γὰρ οἷόν τε πᾶσαν αὐτοῦ τῷ λόγῳ παραστῆσαι τῆς ἀσχημοσύνης τὴν ὑπερβολήν. Πρὸς δὲ τοὺς μετὰ ταῦτα ἀπιστήσοντας ἐκεῖνο ἂν εἴποιμι ὅτι ὁ δαίμων ὁ παρ' ὑμῖν ὃν Ἀφροδίτην καλεῖτε οὐκ αἰσχύνεται τοιούτους ἔχων θεραπευτάς.

4ss e Chrysostomi adfirmatione infra p 95,7 iam vigesimum annum esse e quo Apollonis templum Daphnaeum ustum est (a d XI Kal Nov 362 [Amm Marc 22,13,1ss]) constat hunc librum in AD 382 scriptum esse quo tempore aliqui Antiochenses etiam vivebant, qui Iulianum Antiochiae 362-363 commoratum viderant

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BDAC VH OELSMGR v 1 γινομένοις B γενομένοις C καὶ om BDC LSM 2 Οὐδὲ: οὐ B 3 βεβηκότα D 4 ἔτι post ζῶντας EL 5 ταῦτα: τὰ τοιαῦτα VH OELSMGR 8 ψεύσασθαι DAC νομίζῃ GRv ταῦτα: τοιαῦτα V 10 προστέθηται E ει in προστέθειται in ras G 11 προστιμέντα OL μόνον: μᾶλλον VH OELSMGR 12 ad αὐτοῦ: τοῦ Ἰουλια⟨νοῦ⟩ δὴ D^m οἷον τε: οἴονται V τε: τι H ἀσχμοσύνης B 13 post ὑπερβολήν add Οὐδὲ. . . ἀσχημονεῖν (p 59,2 ss) eras O

79 Οὐδὲν οὖν θαυμαστὸν καὶ τὸν δείλαιον ἐκεῖνον τὸν ἅπαξ ἑαυτὸν ἐκδεδωκότα τῷ τῶν δαιμόνων γέλωτι μὴ ἐγκαλύπτεσθαι ἐφ' οἷς οἱ παρ' αὐτῷ θεραπευόμενοι σεμνύνονται θεοί. Τί ἂν τις λέγοι τὰς νεκυομαντείας, τὰς τῶν παίδων σφαγάς; Αἱ γὰρ θυσίαι ἐκεῖναι αἱ πρὸ τῆς τοῦ Χριστοῦ παρουσίας τολμώμεναι μετὰ δὲ τὴν ἐπιφάνειαν αὐτοῦ κατασταλεῖσαι ἐτολμῶντο πάλιν φανερῶς μὲν οὐκέτι (εἰ γὰρ καὶ βασιλεὺς ἦν καὶ μετ' ἐξουσίας ἅπαντα ἔπραττεν ἀλλ' ὅμως ἡ τῆς τῶν δρωμένων ἀνοσιότητος ὑπερβολὴ τῆς ἐξουσίας τὸ μέγεθος ἤλεγχεν) ἐτολμῶντο δ'οὖν ὅμως.

XV 80 Οὗτος δὴ οὖν ὁ βασιλεὺς εἰς τὴν Δάφνην συνεχῶς ἀνιὼν μετὰ πολλῶν μὲν ἀναθημάτων μετὰ πολλῶν δὲ θυσιῶν καὶ χειμάρρους αἱμάτων ἐργαζόμενος ἀπὸ τῆς τῶν θρεμμάτων σφαγῆς ἐπέκειτο σφοδρῶς τὸν δαίμονα χρησμὸν ἀπαιτῶν καὶ ἀξιῶν ἀναιρεῖν ὑπὲρ τῶν κατὰ γνώμην αὐτῷ. Ὁ δὲ γενναῖος ἐκεῖνος,

καὶ ψάμμου τε ἀριθμὸν εἰδὼς καὶ μέτρα θαλάσσης
καὶ κωφοῦ συνιεὶς καὶ οὐ λαλέοντος ἀκούων

3s cf supra nn. 1, 3, 4 — 15s cf Herod 1,47,3 et Pind P 9,44ss; videas PColeman-Norton, "St Chrysostom's Use of the Greek Poets," CP 27 (1932), 216

BDAC VH OELSMGR v 1 δείλεον G τὸν ante ἅπαξ om H OELMG 3 αὐτῷ: αὐτῶν V αὐτοῦ H OSG αὐτὸν L 4 οι in λέγοι in ras G 5 τοῦ om V 6 κατασταλῆσαι C 8 ἀνοσιότητος: ἐναντιότητος OE ὑπερβολὴν G 9 ἤλ in ἤλεγχεν bis G δὲ οὖν DA Lv 10 ς in Οὗτος om C συνεχῶς: νοῦν ἐχῶς B 11s μετὰ. . .αἱμάτων E^{m} 12 ἀπὸ: ὑπὸ M 13 σφοδρὸς DACv χρησμὸν: χρησμωνην A χρησμῶν GR ἀναιρεῖν: om AC ἐρεῖν VH OELSMG 15 ad καὶ ψάμμου: εἰρωνία L^{m} τ'ἀριθμὸν DA E 16 κωφους ut vid D κοφοῦ G ξυνιεὶς VH (ὥς φησι) τὸ μὲν εἰπεῖν διαρρήδην καὶ σαφῶς, ὅτι "διὰ τὸν ἅγιον Βαβύλαν καὶ τὴν ἐκ γειτόνων δύναμιν ἐπιστομισθεὶς οὐ δύναμαι φθέγγεσθαι," παρῃτήσατο δεδοικὼς μὴ γέλωτα παρὰ τοῖς θεραπευταῖς ὄφλῃ τοῖς ἑαυτοῦ, βουλόμενος δὲ συσκιάσαι τὴν ἧτταν εἶπε πρόφασιν τῆς σιγῆς ἢ μᾶλλον αὐτὸν καταγελαστότερον ἀπέφηνε τῆς σιγῆς. Ἐκείνῳ μὲν γὰρ ἂν τὴν ἀσθένειαν μόνον ἀπεκάλυψε τὴν ἑαυτοῦ νυνὶ δὲ καὶ τὴν ἀσθένειαν καὶ τὴν ἀσχημοσύνην καὶ τὴν ἀναισχυντίαν ἔδειξε τὰ ἀσυσκίαστα συσκιάζειν ἐπιχειρῶν.

81 Τίς γὰρ ἡ πρόφασις; Νεκρῶν, φησίν, ἐστι τὸ χωρίον ἡ Δάφνη μεστὸν καὶ τοῦτο κωλύει τὸν χρησμόν. Καὶ πόσῳ βέλτιον ἦν, 556 ὦ δείλαιε, τοῦ μάρτυρος ὁμολογῆσαι τὴν δύναμιν ἢ οὕτως ἀναίσχυντα προφασίζεσθαι. Καὶ ὁ μὲν δαίμων ταῦτα, ὁ δὲ ἀνόητος βασιλεὺς καθάπερ ἐν σκηνῇ παίζων καὶ δρᾶμα ὑποκρινόμενος ἐπὶ τὸν μακάριον εὐθέως ἦλθε Βαβύλαν. Καίτοι ὦ μιαρὲ καὶ παμμίαρε εἰ μὴ ἀλλήλους ἐξηπατᾶτε ἑκόντες καὶ συνεπεκρίνασθε πρὸς τὴν τῶν λοιπῶν ἀπώλειαν, τί δήποτε σὺ μὲν λέγεις ἀνωνύμως καὶ ἀδιορίστως τοὺς νεκροὺς σὺ δὲ ὡς ὀνομαστὶ καὶ μετὰ διορισμοῦ τινος ἀκούσας τῶν ἄλλων ἐφέμενος τὸν ἅγιον μόνον ἐκίνεῖς; Ἐχρῆν γὰρ κατὰ τὴν τοῦ δαίμονος ἀπόφασιν πάσας ἀνορύττειν τὰς ἐν τῇ Δάφνῃ θήκας καὶ τὸ μορμολυκεῖον τῆς τῶν θεῶν ὄψεως ἀπάγειν ὡς πορρωτάτω.

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1 ὥς φησι scil Ἀπόλλω cf infra pp 66,5ss; 83,16; 88,15s

9ss cf Socrates HE 3,18 (PG 67, 425), Sozomenus HE 5,19 (PG 67, 1276)

BDAC VH OELSMGR v 2 Βαβυλᾶν BC δύναται VH GR (cf infra p 65,10) 3 δεδοικὼς om GR παρὰ om OL τοῖς: ταῖς E 4 ὄφλει BAC αὐτοῦ B et οῦ suprascr D 5 καταγελαστώτερου AC 6 ἐκείνως VH OELG μόνον om V OLGR 7 αὐτοῦ BACV SM αὑτοῦ H GR 9 ἡ om AC φησίν, ἐστι: ἐστί, φησί OELv φησί D ἐστί M 10 μεστῶν SM πόσον SMGR 14 εὐθέως om E εὐθέως post Βαβύλαν GR Βαβυλᾶν BC μιαροὶ καὶ παμμίαροι VH OELSMGRv 15 συνυπεκρίνεσθε V OLSGR συνεπεκρίνεσθε E 16 σὺ in ras S λέγει S 17 ὡς om H 18 κινεῖς DVH OELSMGRv 20 ἐπάγειν G

82 Ἀλλ' οὐ περὶ πάντων εἶπε τῶν νεκρῶν. Τί οὖν τοῦτο οὐ διαρρήδην ὡμολόγησεν; Ἢ σοὶ τὸ δρᾶμα ὑποκρινομένῳ τῆς πλάνης τοῦτο ἀφῆκε τὸ αἴνιγμα. Ἐγὼ μὲν γὰρ λέγω τοὺς νεκρούς, φησίν, ὥστε μὴ δήλην γενέσθαι τὴν ἧτταν καὶ ἄλλως γὰρ δέδοικα ὀνομαστὶ τὸν ἅγιον εἰπεῖν, σὺ δὲ νόει τὸ λεχθὲν καὶ ἀντὶ πάντων κίνει τὸν μάρτυρα· ἐκεῖνος γὰρ ἡμᾶς ἐπεστόμισε. Τοσαύτην κατέγνω παραπληξίαν τῶν θεραπευόντων αὐτὸν ὡς οὕτω φανερὰν ἀπάτην μὴ δυνηθῆναι συνιδεῖν. Εἰ γὰρ ἐξεστήκεσαν ἅπαντες εἰ ἐμεμήνεσαν οὐδ' ἂν οὕτω διέφυγον τὴν τῆς ἥττης κατάγνωσιν—οὕτω φανερὰ πᾶσίν ἐστι καὶ σαφής. Εἰ γὰρ μίασμα τι καὶ μύσος ἔσται, ὡς φῇς, τὰ νεκρὰ τῶν ἀνθρώπων σώματα, πολλῷ μᾶλλον τὰ τῶν ἀλόγων ὅσῳ καὶ τὸ γένος ἀτιμότερον τοῦ γένους. Πολλῶν δὲ καὶ κυνῶν καὶ πιθήκων καὶ ὄνων ὀστᾶ πλησίον τοῦ ναοῦ κατορώρυκται καὶ ταῦτα μᾶλλον ἐχρῆν μετακινεῖν εἰ μὴ πιθήκων ἀνθρώπους ἀτιμοτέρους ἡγῇ.

83 Ποῦ νῦν εἰσιν οἱ τὸ καλὸν τοῦ θεοῦ δημιούργημα καὶ πρὸς ὑπηρεσίαν ἡμετέραν γεγονὸς τὸν ἥλιον ἐνυβρίζοντες καὶ τῷ δαίμονι τὸ ἄστρον ἐπιφημίζοντες καὶ τοῦτο ἐκεῖνον εἶναι λέγοντες;

16ss Apollinem eundem ut Solem esse viri de deorum natura docti ex a C quinto saeculo putabant: cf HRose A Handbook of Greek Mythology pp 33, 134

BDAC VH OELSMGR v 2 διαρρήδδην ut vid C καὶ ante ὡμολόγησεν add V τῷ ante τὸ add VH G ὑποκρινόμενος OEL 4 μὴ: μήτε D δέδοικα: δέδωκα A δέδωικα C 5 ἄγι E 6 ἐκίνει H μάρτυραν G 7 αὐτοὺς OEL 8 συνεδεῖν A 9 διέφυγες H OESGR 10 ἔσται: ἐστὶν DVH OELSMGRv 11 τὰ: καὶ AC πολλῷ C πολλ S 12 ὅσον AC ἀτιμώτερον A E 13 κατορρώρυκται AC SM κατώρυκται L 14s ἀτιμοτέρους ἀνθρώπους ἀτι VH -OELSMGR^m et ἀτιμω- C 16 οἱ: εἰ G 17 τῷ: τὸ E 18 τοῦτον B

Ὁ μὲν γὰρ ἥλιος μυρίων ἐν τῆ γῆ κειμένων νεκρῶν ἐκχεῖται κατὰ τῆς οἰκουμένης καὶ οὐδαμοῦ συστέλλει τὰς ἀκτῖνας οὐδὲ τὴν ἐκ τούτων ἐνέργειαν διὰ τοὺς μολυσμούς, ὁ δὲ θεὸς ὁ ὑμέτερος βίους μὲν αἰσχροὺς καὶ μαγγανείας καὶ φόνους οὐκ ἀποστρέφεται οὐδὲ μισεῖ ἀλλὰ καὶ ἀγαπᾶ καὶ ἀσπάζεται καὶ φιλεῖ, σώματα δὲ ἐκτρέπεται τὰ ἡμέτερα. Καίτοι τὸ μὲν τῆς κακίας εἶδος καὶ παρ' αὐτοῖς τοῖς δρῶσιν αὐτὸ μυρίας καταγνώσεως ἄξιον εἶναι δοκεῖ, τὸ δὲ σῶμα τὸ νεκρὸν καὶ ἀκίνητον οὐδεμιᾶς μετέχει μέμψεως καὶ αἰτίας. Ἀλλ' αὕτη τῶν δαιμόνων ὑμῶν ἡ προαίρεσις βδελύττεσθαι μὲν τὰ βδελυκτὰ τιμᾶν δὲ καὶ ἀποδέχεσθαι τὰ παντὸς ἄξια μίσους καὶ ἀποστροφῆς.

84 Καὶ ἀνὴρ μὲν ἀγαθὸς οὐδὲ βουλεύσασθαί τι χρήσιμον οὔτε πρᾶξαί τι τῶν δεόντων ὑπὸ σώματος κωλυθήσεται νεκροῦ, ἀλλὰ ἂν ὑγιαίνη τὴν ψυχὴν καὶ παρ' αὐτοὺς οἰκῶν τοὺς τάφους καὶ σωφροσύνην καὶ δικαιοσύνην καὶ πᾶσαν ἐπιδείξεται τὴν ἀρετήν. Καὶ χειροτέχνης δὲ ἕκαστος ἀνεμποδίστως τὰ τῆς οἰκείας ἐπιστήμης πάντα ἐργάσεται καὶ παρέξει τοῖς δεομένοις αὐτοῦ οὐ πλησίον νεκρῶν καθήμενος μόνον ἀλλὰ κἂν αὐτὰ τὰ μνήματα τῶν

1ss cf Matt 5.45 3ss similiter Apolloni maledicit Creüsa in Eurip Ion 885ss 12ss animum castum superponuit ritibus sacrorum Dominus Noster in Matt 15.11, Marc 7.15

BDAC VH OELSMGR v 1 Ὁ om C 2 οὐδαμῶς B 3 μολισμοὺς G 4 μαγκανείας O 5 φιλεῖ om E 6 ἡμέτερα: ὑμέτερα G 7 αὐτῷ AC 8 τὸν εκρὸν M^c οὐδὲ μιᾶς O 12 τι om D 14 ὑγιαίνει G αὐτοῖς οἰκῶν τοῖς τάφοις DVH OELSMGRv αὐτοῖς οἰκῶν τοὺς τάφους AC 15 ἐπιδεῖξαι O 18 νεκροῦ G νεκρὸν R κἂν: καὶ in ras ut vid V κατοιχομένων οἰκοδομῆσαι δέῃ, καὶ ὁ ζωγράφος καὶ ὁ λιθοξόος καὶ ὁ τέκτων καὶ ὁ χαλκοτύπος καὶ πάντες τὰ αὐτῶν συνεισφέρουσι. Μόνος δὲ πάντων ὁ 'Απόλλων ὑπὸ τῶν νεκρῶν κωλύεσθαί φησι τὰ μέλλοντα προορᾶν.

85 Καὶ μὴν καὶ παρ' ἡμῖν ἄνδρες γεγόνασι μεγάλοι καὶ θαυμαστοὶ καὶ τὰ πρὸ τετρακοσίων καὶ χιλίων προεῖπον ἐτῶν καὶ προλέγοντες οὐδὲν τούτων οὔτε ἐζήτησαν οὔτε ἐμέμφαντο οὔτε τοὺς τάφους τῶν ἀπελθόντων ἀναρρήγνυσθαι ἐκέλευσαν καὶ τοὺς κειμένους ῥίπτεσθαι καὶ τυμβωρυχίας ξένον καὶ ἀναίσχυντον ἐπινοεῖν τρόπον. 'Αλλ' οἱ μὲν αὐτῶν ἔθνεσι παροικοῦντες ἀθέοις 557 καὶ μιαροῖς οἱ δὲ ἐν μέσοις τοῖς βαρβάροις ὄντες ἔνθα τὰ ἀληθῶς μολυσμοῦ ἄξια καὶ μιασμοῦ πάντα ἐδρᾶτο μετὰ ἀληθείας ἅπαντα προύλεγον καὶ οὐδὲν αὐτοὺς ὁ τῶν ἄλλων μιασμὸς ἐκώλυεν εἰς τὴν πρόρρησιν. Τί δήποτε; Ὅτι ἐκεῖνοι μὲν ἀληθῶς ὑπὸ θείας ἐνεργούμενοι δυνάμεως ἔλεγον ἅπερ ἔλεγον, ὁ δὲ δαίμων κενὸς τῆς ἐνεργείας ἐκείνης καὶ ἔρημος ὢν εἶχε μὲν οὐδὲν προειπεῖν ὑπὲρ δὲ τοῦ μὴ δόξαι ἀπορεῖν πιθανὰ ἁπλῶς καὶ καταγέλαστα προφασίζεσθαι ἀναγκάζεται.

5ss de prophetis Chrysostomus sex homilias in Isaiam 6 et librum De prophetarum obscuritate scripsit: PG 56, 97-142, 163-192   6s prophetae tempori tributi haud accurate quos vixisse millenarium ante Christum forte Chrysostomus volebat cf infra n 119   10s vel Amos vel Hosea (a C saec 8)   11s vel Ieremias (626-585 a C) vel Ezechiel (626-585 a C)   14s cf 3 Regn 22,24

BDAC VH OEMGR   1 οἰκονομῆσαι D   δέοι VH   ζωφράφως E   ζογράφος G   2 αὐτῶν om M   4 μέλλοντα om M   5 post μὴν add εἰ eras ut vid B   5s θαυμαστοὶ καὶ μεγάλοι M   6 τὰ om M   7 μέμφαντες ut vid G   9 τυμοβορυχίας C   10 αὐτῶν: ἀστῶν ut vid B   ἐν ante ἔθνεσι add OMG   12 καὶ μιασμοῦ om C   μετ' C   12s ἅπαντα om B   13 μιασμὸς: μιασμένος M   14 ὑπὸ: ἀπὸ A   15 ἐλεγων E   ἅπερ ἔλεγον bis E   16 ἐκείνης καὶ om E   ἐκείνης om GR   17 δὲ om R

86 Διὰ τί γάρ, εἰπέ μοι, κατὰ τὸν ἔμπροσθεν χρόνον οὐδέποτέ τι τοιοῦτον εἶπεν οὐδὲ ἐφθέγξατο; Ὅτι τότε μὲν εἶχε τὸ μὴ θεραπεύεσθαι πρόφασιν, ταύτης δὲ αὐτῷ τῆς ἀπολογίας περιαιρεθείσης κατέφυγεν ἐπὶ τοὺς νεκροὺς στενοχωρηθεὶς μή τι πάθοι. Οὐ γὰρ ἐβούλετο ἀσχημονεῖν ἀλλ' ὑμεῖς αὐτὸν ἠναγκάσατο διὰ τῆς πολλῆς θεραπείας τὴν ἀπολογίαν ἐκκόψαντες καὶ οὐκ ἀφέντες εἰς τὴν τῶν θυσιῶν σπάνιν καταφυγεῖν.

XVI 87 Ἀκούσας δὴ ταῦτα ὁ ὑποκριτὴς ἐκέλευσε κατενεχθῆναι τὴν λάρνακα ἵνα ἡ ἧττα δήλη γένηται καὶ καταφανής. Εἰ μὲν γὰρ εἶπεν ὅτι "διὰ τὸν ἅγιον οὐ δύναμαι φθέγγεσθαι"--ἀλλὰ μηδὲν κινεῖτε μηδ' ἐνοχλεῖτε περαιτέρω--τοῖς αὐτοῦ μόνοις ἂν ἐγένετο φανερόν (οὐ γὰρ ἂν εἰς ἑτέρους τοῦτο ἐξήνεγκαν αἰσχυνόμενοι)--νῦν δὲ ὥσπερ ἐκπομπεῦσαι σπουδάζων τὴν ἀσθένειαν αὐτοῦ οὕτως ἅπαντα πράττειν ἠνάγκαζε δι' ὧν οὐδὲ βουλομένοις ἐνῆν συσκιάσαι τὸ γεγονός. Οὐδὲ γὰρ ἔτι δυνατὸν διασωθῆναι τὴν ὑπόκρισιν διὰ τὸ μηδένα τῶν ἄλλων νεκρῶν ἀλλὰ μόνον τὸν μάρτυρα μετακινηθῆναι ἐκεῖθεν. Καὶ οὐχ οἱ τὴν πόλιν οἰκοῦντες μόνον καὶ τὸ προάστειον καὶ τοὺς ἀγροὺς ἀλλὰ καὶ οἱ πόρρωθεν ἀφ-

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8 cf Deli purificationes a Peisistrato (Herod 1,64) et a Nicia (Thuc 3,104) factae

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BD(post p 65,17s μόνον illeg terminat D)AC VH OELSMGR v 1 οὐδέποτέ τι τοιοῦτον om AC 2 Ὅτι G^{m} εἶχετο E 3 ας in ἀπολογίας in ras O 4 ἐπὶ τοὺς νεκροὺς καταφεύγει OSMGR ἐπὶ τοὺς νεκροὺς καταφεύγεις EL μὴ om BDAC τι: τοι E 5 ἀναγκάσετε G 7 σπάνιν: σπλάνην in ras H 10 γὰρ O^{s} 11 μηδὲν: μηδὲ V L et μὴ δὲ O κινῆτε AC μηδ': μηδὲ V ἐνοχλῆται C^{c} αὐτοῖς OL 12 ἐτ in ἑτέρους in ras B ἐξένεγκεν G 14 δι' ὧν: διὸ VH LSMR D illeg βουλομένῳ Bv 15 γεγονὸς: γένος E Οὐδὲ γὰρ ἔτι in ras B 16 post ὑπόκρισιν add ἦν AH OELSMR 17 πόλιν in ras V 18 προ in προάστειον in ras B post οἱ iterum τὸ. . .ἀγροὺς (p 65,18) H ἱστάμενοι τῶν χωρίων καὶ τὴν λάρνακα οὐχ ὁρῶντες κειμένην εἶτα τὴν αἰτίαν ἐξετάζοντες εὐθέως ἐμάνθανον, ὡς ὁ δαίμων παρὰ τοῦ βασιλέως ἀξιούμενος μαντεύεσθαι εἶπε τοῦτο μὴ δύνασθαι ποιεῖν ἕως ἂν αὐτοῦ τὸν μακάριον ἀποστήσῃ τις Βαβύλαν.

88 Καίτοι γε, ὦ καταγέλαστε, ἐνῆν σοι καὶ εἰς ἑτέρας προφάσεις καταφυγεῖν οἷα πολλάκις ποιεῖς μυρία τεχνάζων ἐν ταῖς ἀπορίαις ἀεί, πρὸς μὲν τὸν Λυδὸν εἰπὼν ὅτι ἄλυν τὸν ποταμὸν διαβὰς μεγάλην ἀρχὴν καταλύσει καὶ δείξας αὐτὸν ἐπὶ τῆς πυρᾶς, ἐπὶ δὲ τῆς Σαλαμῖνος αὐτῷ τε τῷ σοφῷ τούτῳ χρησάμενος καὶ τὸν καταγέλαστον σύνδεσμον προσθείς (τὸ μὲν γὰρ εἰπεῖν

ἀπολεῖς δὲ σὺ τέκνα γυναικῶν

ὅμοιον ἦν τῷ τοῦ Λυδοῦ, τὸ δὲ προσθεῖναι

ἤτοι σκιδναμένης Δημήτερος ἢ συνιούσης

πλείονος γέλωτος καὶ τοῖς ἐν ταῖς τριόδοις ὑπὸ τῶν ἀγυρτῶν λεγομένοις προσεοικός)--ἀλλ' οὐδὲ τοῦτο ἤθελες. Καὶ ἐξῆν ἀσαφείᾳ

5ss Apollonis Delphici non Daphnaei oracula a Chrysostomo referuntur 7s cf Herod 1,53,3 (91,4); 87,2 et Bacchyl 3,23ss (ed Snell) 11, 13 Herod 7,141,4

BAC VH OELSMGR 1 καὶ om H OELSMR 4 τις om GR Βαβυλᾶν BC 5 ἰνῆν E 5 s προφάσεις om GR 6 προφυγεῖν GR 7 Ἄλιν R τὸν ante ποταμὸν om H SR 8 καταλύσεις VH OELSM 9 αὐτὸ VH OELSM τὸ σοφὸν τοῦτο V OELSM τῷ σοφῷ: σοφοῦ H τοῦτο H G 10 προσθείς: πρὸς τεθεῖς E προστεθείς L 11 σοι R 12 τῷ: τὸ M Λυδοῦ: δούλου E 13 ἤ: ὃ R 14 τοῖς: ταῖς G 15 τοῦτο ἤθελες: τοῦτον θέλες A ἀσαφείᾳ in ras V κρύψαι τὸν λόγον--καὶ γὰρ τοῦτο τῆς τέχνης ἀεὶ τῆς σῆς--ἀλλ' ἐπέκειντο πάντες πάλιν ἀγνοοῦντες καὶ λύσιν ἐπιζητοῦντες. Καὶ ἐνῆν σοι καταφυγεῖν ἐπὶ τοὺς ἀστέρας, καὶ γὰρ τοῦτο ποιεῖς πολλάκις καὶ οὐκ αἰσχύνῃ οὐδὲ ἐρυθριᾷς.

89 Οὐ γὰρ πρὸς ἄνδρας νοῦν ἔχοντας ὁ λόγος ἐστί σοι ἀλλὰ πρὸς θρέμματα καὶ θρεμμάτων ἀλογωτέρους. Οὐκ ἦσαν τῶν Ἑλλήνων σοφώτεροι τῶν ταῦτα ἀκουόντων καὶ οὐκ ἀφισταμένων τῆς ἀπάτης; 558 Ἀλλὰ συνεώρων τὸ ψεῦδος; Οὐκοῦν ἐχρῆν τἀληθῆ πρὸς τὸν ἱερέα μόνον εἰπεῖν καὶ αὐτὸς ἂν εὗρέ σου μᾶλλον συσκιάσαι τὴν ἧτταν; Νῦν δὲ τίς σε ἔπεισεν, ἄθλιε, εἰς οὕτω φανερὰν σαυτὸν ἀναισχυντίαν ἐμβαλεῖν; Ἀλλὰ τάχα σὺ μὲν οὐδὲν ἥμαρτες, ὁ δὲ βασιλεὺς κακῶς ὑπεκρίνατο ἀδιορίστως μὲν περὶ τῶν νεκρῶν ἀκούσας ἐπὶ δὲ τὸν ἅγιον μόνον ἐλθών· ἐκεῖνός σε διήλεγξε καὶ τὴν ἀπάτην ἐγύμνωσεν. Ἀλλ' οὐδὲ ἐκεῖνος ἑκών. Οὐ γὰρ ἦν τοῦ αὐτοῦ τοσούτοις τε ἀναθήμασι τιμᾶν καὶ πάλιν ὑβρίζειν τὸν αὐτόν, ἀλλὰ πάντας ὁμοῦ τοῦ μάρτυρος ἐσκότωσεν ἡ δύναμις καὶ οὐκ ἀφῆκε συνιδεῖν τὰ γινόμενα, ἀλλ' ἐπράττετο μὲν ἅπαντα ὡς κατὰ Χριστιανῶν περιετρέπετο δὲ οὐκ εἰς τοὺς πάσχοντας ἀλλ' εἰς τοὺς δρῶντας ὁ γέλως. Οὕτω που καὶ οἱ μαινόμενοι δοκοῦσι μὲν ἀεὶ τοὺς πλησίον ἀμύνεσθαι τοὺς τοίχους λακτίζοντες καὶ ῥητὰ καὶ ἄρρητα τοὺς παρόντας λέγοντες κακά, αἰσχύνουσι δὲ δι' ὧν ποιοῦσιν οὐκ ἐκείνους ἀλλ' ἑαυτούς. ὃ δὴ τότε ἐγένετο.

BAC VH OELSMGR 1 καὶ om LM ἀεὶ om R 2 πάντες om SM ἐπιζητοῦντες; M 2s Καὶ ἐνῆν. . .ἀστέρας om R 3 post γὰρ bis καὶ AC καὶ ante τοῦτο add H SR 5 ὁ λόγος ante νοῦν GR 7 σοφότεροι R 8 τἀληθῆ C 8s μόνον τὸν ἱερέα L 9 ηὗρέν C 10 δὲ om E 12 ἀπεκρίνετο E 13 δὲ om E 15 ἀναθήμασι in ras B 16 ἐσκώτοσεν B 17 γενόμενα OEM πάντα O 19 δοκοῦσι: ποιοῦσι· δοκοῦσι VH OELM 20 post ἀεὶ add γὰρ H OM τοὺς ante πλησίον om A alt οι in τοίχοις in ras V 22 ὃ: οἷος O οἷα EL δὴ: δὲ O ἐγίνετο BACV OEM

90 Εἵλκετο μὲν γὰρ ἡ λάρναξ διὰ τῆς ὁδοῦ πάσης, ἐπανῄει δὲ ὁ μάρτυς καθάπερ τις ἀθλητὴς εἰς τὴν ἑαυτοῦ πόλιν δεύτερον φέρων στέφανον ἐν ᾧ καὶ τὸν πρότερον ἀνεδήσατο, ὥστε εἴ τις μὴ καταδέχοιτο τὴν ἀνάστασιν λεμπρότερα τοῦ μάρτυρος μετὰ τὴν τελευτὴν ἔργα θεώμενος αἰσχυνέσθω λοιπόν. Οἷον γάρ τις ἀριστεὺς τροπαίοις συνῆπτε τρόπαια, μεγάλοις μείζονα καὶ θαυμαστοῖς θαυμαστότερα. Τότε μὲν γὰρ πρὸς βασιλέα μόνον ἠγωνίσατο νῦν δὲ καὶ πρὸς βασιλέα καὶ δαίμονα, καὶ τότε μὲμ τῶν ἱερῶν περιβόλων τὸν κρατοῦντα ἀπήλασε νῦν δὲ τοῦ χωρίου παντὸς τῆς Δάφνης τὸν λυμεῶνα ἀπήγαγεν οὐ χειρὶ χρώμενος καθάπερ καὶ πρότερον ἀλλ' ἀοράτῳ δυνάμει τὴν ἀόρατον καταγωνιζόμενος. Καὶ ζῶντος μὲν οὐκ ἤνεγκε τὴν παρρησίαν ὁ ἀνδροφόνος, τελευτήσαντος δὲ οὐκ ὑπέμεινε τὴν κόνιν οὔτε ὁ βασιλεὺς οὔτε ὁ δαίμων ὁ ταῦτα κινῶν τὸν βασιλέα ποιεῖν.

91 Ὅτι γὰρ μείζονα τοῦ προτέρου φόβον τούτοις τοῖς δευτέροις εἰργάσατο δῆλον ἐκεῖθεν. Ἐκεῖνος μὲν γὰρ αὐτὸν λαβὼν καὶ ἔδησε καὶ ἀνεῖλεν οὗτοι δὲ μόνον μετέθηκαν. Διὰ τί γὰρ μὴ καταποντίσαι τὴν λάρνακα μήτε ἐκεῖνος ἐκέλευσε μήτε οὗτος ἐθέλησε; Διὰ τί μὴ συνέτριψε καὶ κατέκαυσε; Διὰ τί μὴ εἰς ἔρημον καὶ ἀοίκητον αὐτὴν ἀπενεχθῆναι προσέταξεν; Εἰ γὰρ

1ss cf Pind N 9,1ss   2 cf infra p 70,19ss   5ss cf 1 Cor 9,24s

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BAC VH OELSMGR 1 γὰρ om OE   2 καθάπερ: ὥσπερ G   τις om O   post ἀθλητὴς iterum ὁδοῦ πάσης (p68,1) E   3 φέρον E   ἀνεδείσατο C   4 καταδέχεται BA   5 αἰσχοινέσθω AC   Οἷα H GR   7 μόνον in ras G   8 ἠγωνίσατο in ras E   9 τὸ χωρίον GR   10 παντὸς om G   παντὸς post Δάφνης R   λυμαιῶνα C G   11 καὶ: τὸ H OEMR   post δυνάμει add τινὶ forte ratione theologica H OEMR   τὴν: τουτου τὸν R   τὸν H LS   15 βοβον in φόβον O^{c} 16 αὐτὸν om E   17 ἀνηλεν G   post οὗτοι hab ἤδη eras R   μόνον om AC   18 μηδὲ οὗτος H   19 ἠθέλησε V OE   20 ἀπενεσχῆναι E

ἄγος ἦν καὶ μίασμα--καὶ βδελυττόμενος ἀλλὰ μὴ δεδοικὼς ἐκεῖθεν αὐτὴν ἐκίνησεν--οὐκ εἰς τὴν πόλιν ἐχρῆν τὸ ἄγος εἰσάγειν ἀλλ'
XVII ἀποικίζειν εἰς ὄρη καὶ νάπας. 'Αλλ' ᾔδει καὶ αὐτοῦ τοῦ 'Απολλωνος οὐχ ἧττον ὁ δείλαιος τοῦ μακαρίου τὴν ἰσχὺν καὶ τὴν παρρησίαν τὴν πρὸς τὸν θεὸν καὶ ἔδεισε μὴ τοῦτο ἐργασάμενος σκηπτὸν ἢ τινα νόσον ἑτέραν ἐφ' ἑαυτὸν προκαλέσηται.

92 Καὶ γὰρ εἶχε πολλὰ τῆς τοῦ Χριστοῦ δυνάμεως τὰ τεκμήρια ἔν τε τοῖς πρὸ αὐτοῦ βεβασιλευκόσιν ἐπιδειχθείσης καὶ ἐν τοῖς σὺν αὐτῷ τότε τὴν ἐπ' αὐτοῦ διέπουσιν ἀρχήν. Τῶν μὲν γὰρ πάλαι βασιλευσάντων οἱ τὰ τοιαῦτα τολμήσαντες μετὰ πολλὰς καὶ ἀφορήτους συμφορὰς αἰσχρῶς καὶ ἐλεεινῶς τὸν βίον κατέλυσαν, ὡς τοῦ μὲν τὰς κόρας ἔτι ζῶντος αὐτομάτως ἐκπηδῆσαι τῶν ὀφθαλμῶν [Μαξιμῖνος οὗτος ἦν] τὸν δὲ μανέντα τὸν δὲ ἄλλῃ τοιαύτῃ χρησάμενον συμφορᾷ οὕτως ἐνθένδε ἀπελθεῖν. Τῶν δὲ σὺν αὐτῷ τότε ὄντων ὁ μὲν θεῖος ὁ πρὸς πατρὸς νεανικώτερον τῇ καθ'
559 ἡμῶν μανίᾳ χρησάμενος καὶ τῶν ἱερῶν σκευῶν ταῖς μιαραῖς τολμήσας ἅψασθαι χερσὶ καὶ οὐδὲ τούτοις ἀρκεσθεὶς ἀλλὰ περαιτέρω τῇ ὕβρει προελθὼν (περιστρέψας γὰρ αὐτὰ καὶ θεὶς ἐπὶ τοῦ

9ss doctrinae de persecutoribus a Deo vindicandis fons Vetus Testamentum et Philo in libris Ad Gaium et In Flaccum unde Lactantius in libro De mortibus persecutorum et Eusebius in Hist Eccl 12 cf Lact De mort pers 49,3; Eus HE 9,10,15 13 Μαξιμῖνος οὗτος ἦν antiquitus interpolata suspicamur quia Chrysostomus in hoc libro nomina propria omnino omittit persecutor vesanus factus forte Diocletianus Augustus (AD 284-305): cf Eus HE 8,13,11 15ss de sacrilegio et ulcere Dei poena Iuliani, Iuliani Apostatae avunculi, cf Sozomenus HE 5,8 (PG 67, 1236)

BC VH OELSMGR 1 ἐκεῖθεν: ἐκεῖνος O om GR 2 αὐτὸν H αὐτῆς G 6 ἑτέραν om H 7 Χριστοῦ: χρηστοῦ A 8 ἔν τε τοῖς: εἴ τε τῆς G 9 τότε om SM ἐπ': ὑπ' H OELSM 10 μή in τολμήσαντες in ras B 11 καθέλυσαν H 12 ad τοῦ: περὶ Μαξιμίνου V^m τὰς om GR οὗτος om O τὸν δὲ ante ἄλλῃ om EL 14 post οὕτως add ἦν eras G Τῶν: Τὸν R 15 ad θεῖος: ὁμώνυμος αὐτοῦ 'Ιουλιανὸς R^m 16 μανία in ras B ἐδάφους ἁπλῶς οὕτως ἐκάθισεν ἐπ' αὐτῶν) παραχρῆμα ταύτης τῆς παρανόμου καθέδρας τὴν δίκην ἔδωκε. Διαφθαρὲν γὰρ αὐτοῦ τὸ αἰδοῖον σκώληκας ἔτεκε, καὶ ὥστε δειχθῆναι ὅτι ἡ νόσος θεήλατος ἦν πίονας ὄρνεις καὶ ξενικὰς καταθύοντες οἱ ἰατροὶ καὶ πλησίον τῶν διεφθορότων μελῶν τιθέντες ἐξεκαλοῦντο τοὺς σκώληκας. Οἱ δὲ οὐκ ἀφίσταντο ἀλλὰ ἀπρὶξ τῶν σεσηπότων εἴχοντο μερῶν καὶ οὕτως αὐτὸν ἐπὶ πολλαῖς δαπανήσαντες ἡμέραις κακῶς ἀπώλεσαν. Ἕτερος δέ τις ἐπὶ τῇ φυλακῇ τῶν ταμείων τεταγμένος τῶν βασιλικῶν πρὶν ἢ τὸν οὐδὸν ὑπερβῆναι τῶν βασιλείων ἐλάκησεν ἄφνω μέσος καὶ αὐτὸς ἑτέρας τινὸς τοιαύτης παρανομίας δίκην δούς. Ταῦτα δὴ καὶ τούτων πλείονα (οὐ γὰρ ἅπαντα καταλέγειν καιρὸς νῦν) εἰς νοῦν λαβὼν ὁ μιαρὸς ἐδεδοίκει τὴν τόλμαν περαιτέρω προαγαγεῖν.

93 Καὶ ὅτι οὐκ ἀπ' ἐμαυτοῦ ταῦτα λέγω νῦν ἐκ τῶν μετὰ ταῦτα ὑπ' αὐτοῦ γενομένων ἔσται δῆλον ἡμῖν. Τέως δὲ τῆς ἀκολουθίας τῶν γεγενημένων ἐχώμεθα. Τί δὴ τὸ ἐντεῦθεν ἦν; Τοῦτο γάρ ἐστι τὸ θαυμαστὸν οὐ τὴν δύναμιν μόνον ἀλλὰ καὶ τὴν ἄφατον φιλανθρωπίαν ἐπιδεικνύον τοῦ θεοῦ. Ὁ μὲν γὰρ ἅγιος μάρτυς τῶν ἱερῶν εἴσω περιβόλων ἦν ἐν οἷς καὶ πρότερον ἐτύγχανεν ὢν

8ss Felix primus Iuliani adiutor haemorrhagia mortuus initio AD 363: cf Amm Marc 23,1,4-5; videas et GDowney A History of Antioch in Syria p 393   19ss haec verba statuunt huius libri terminum post quem scriptus est AD 381   nam Babylae reliquiae in Christianorum sepulcris communibus positae sunt AD 362-381, quo tempore ad martyrium clarissimum extra urbem trans Orontem translatae sunt, quod aedificium sacrum Chrysostomus non commemorat: cf JLassus Antioch-on-the-Orontes 2,5ss

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BAC VH OELSMGR v   1 ἁπλῶς: ἁπλώσας BACH S   καὶ ἁπλώσας V GRv   δὲ post παραχρῆμα add GR   1 s ταύτης ante καθέδρας H   3 καὶ om G   4 γὰρ post πίονας add GR   6 οὐκ: οὐ μόνον οὐκ VH OELSMGR   post ἀλλὰ add καὶ OLGR   εἴχοντων post corr G   7 μερῶν: μελῶν AC   κακῶς om BAC   8 τῇ om O   9 ἐπιβῆναι SM   τῶν οὐδῶν H   οὐδῶν AC   11 δίκας H   τὰ ante τούτων add H SGR   12 νῦν om OEL   13 προάγειν OEL   14 ἐμαυτοῦ: ἐμοῦ H   16 δὴ: δὲ O   γὰρ om BV S 18 post ἐπιδεικνύον add τος A^{s2} ἐπιδεικνύνοντος E   -νύοντες G   -νύοντος R

πρὶν εἰς τὴν Δάφνην ἐλθεῖν, ὁ δὲ πονηρὸς δαίμων ἐμάνθανεν εὐθέως ὅτι μάτην αὐτῷ τὰ τῆς ἀπάτης μεμηχάνηται, καὶ ὅτι οὐ πρὸς νεκρὸν τὸν ἀγῶνα εἶχεν ἀλλὰ πρὸς ζῶντα καὶ ἐνεργοῦντα καὶ οὐκ αὐτοῦ μόνον ἀλλὰ καὶ πάντων δαιμόνων ἰσχυρότερον. Παρακαλέσας γὰρ τὸν θεὸν ἀφεῖναι πῦρ εἰς τὸν νεὼν τήν τε ὀροφὴν κατέφλεξε πᾶσαν καὶ τὸ εἴδωλον μέχρις ἐσχάτων ἀφανίσας ποδῶν τέφραν τε ἀποφήνας καὶ κόνιν ἀφῆκεν ἑστάναι τοὺς τοίχους ἅπαντας.

94 Καὶ εἴ τις ἐπισταίη τῷ τόπῳ νῦν οὐκ ἂν εἴποι πυρὸς εἶναι ἔργον τὸ γεγονός. Οὐδὲ γὰρ ἄτακτος οὐδὲ ὡς ἐξ ὕλης ἀψύχου γέγονεν ἡ πυρπόλησις ἀλλ' ὥσπερ τινὸς χειρὸς περιαγούσης τὸ πῦρ καὶ δεικνυούσης τίνων μὲν φείσασθαι τίνα δὲ ἀναλῶσαι ἐχρῆν οὕτως εὐρύθμως καὶ τεχνικῶς ὁ ναὸς ἐκκεκάλυπται. Καὶ οὐ τοῖς ἐμπεπρησμένοις ἁπλῶς ἀλλὰ τοῖς ἀρτίους μὲν ἔχουσι περιβόλους στέγης δὲ δεομένοις μόνης προσέοικεν· τά τε γὰρ ἄλλα καὶ οἱ κίονες οἵ τε τὸν ὄροφον ἀνέχοντες οἵ τε τὰ πρόπυλα ἅπαντες ἑστήκασι πλὴν τοῦ περὶ τὸν ὄπισθεν δόμον ἑνός, καὶ οὗτος δὲ οὐχ ἁπλῶς ἀφέθη διακλασθῆναι τότε ἀλλὰ δι' αἰτίαν ἣν μετὰ ταῦτα ἐροῦμεν.

4ss de templo Apollonis Daphnaeo exusto cf Iulianus Misop 361b; Amm Marc 22,13,1-5; Sozomenus HE 5,20 (PG 67, 1277); videas et CMüller Antiquitates Antiochenae p 47 utrum Theodosius I templum deleverit necne ignorat GDowney A History of Antioch in Syria p 437 17s cf infra p 92,15ss

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BAC VH OELSMGR v 6 ἅπασαν H OELSMGR τὸ εἴδωλον in ras B 8 εἴπῃ BAC 9 εἶναι om OSM 10 ἔργον εἶναι VH OELSMGRv ἀτάκτως V OLMGR ὕλης: ἅλης A 10 χειρὸς τινὸς OEL 11 μὲν: δὲ G χρῆν G 12 εὐρύθμος AC ἐκκάλυπται AC ἐκέκαυτο V ἐκκέκαυται H OELSMGR 12s οὐ τοῖς ἐμπεπρησμένοις om H 13 ἀρτίως E τοὺς ante περιβόλους add VH OELSMGRv 14 στέγοις G δεομένους H post δεομένοις add ἁπλῶς E μόνοις OEL 15 τε τὸν: τότε τὸν H προπύλαια AC VH OELSMGRv 16 τοῦ: τῶν BAC VH OLR om SMG τὸν: τῶν V 16 δόμων BV τὸν ὄπισθεν δόμον: ὀπισθοδόμων S τῶν ὀπισθοδόμων M τὸν ὀπισθόδομον R ὀπισθόδομον scribere e infra p 95,13 malimus 17 ἀφείθη V OSM

95 Τούτου δὴ συμβάντος ἄγεται μὲν εἰς δικαστήριον εὐθέως
ὁ τοῦ δαίμονος ἱερεὺς καὶ τὸν αἴτιον ἠναγκάζετο λέγειν, ὡς δὲ
οὐχ εἶχεν ἐξαγκωνίσαντες αὐτὸν καὶ πολλὰς ἐπιθέντες πληγὰς
εἶτα μετεωρίσαντες καὶ τὰς πλευρὰς διαξαίνοντες ἐμάνθανον
πλέον οὐδέν. 'Αλλ' ἐγίνετο παρόμοιον τῷ ἐπὶ τῆς ἀναστάσεως
τοῦ Χριστοῦ. Καὶ γὰρ τότε ἐτάγησαν μὲν οἱ στρατιῶται τὸ
σῶμα φυλάττειν τοῦ 'Ιησοῦ ἵνα μὴ ἐκγένηται, φησί, κακουργῆσαι
περὶ τὴν κλοπὴν τοῖς μαθηταῖς, τὸ δὲ πρᾶγμα εἰς τοῦτο ἐξέβαινεν
ὥστε μηδὲ ἀναίσχυντον πρόφασιν ὑπολειφθῆναι τοῖς βουλομένοις
περὶ τὴν πίστιν τῆς ἀναστάσεως κακουργεῖν. Καὶ ἐνταῦθα
εἵλκετο μὲν ὁ ἱερεὺς ἵνα μὴ θείας ὀργῆς ἀλλ' ἀνθρωπίνης
κακουργίας ἔργον εἶναι μαρτυρήσῃ τὸ γεγονός. Στρεβλούμενος 560
δὲ καὶ αἰκιζόμενος καὶ οὐδένα ἔχων ἐκδοῦναι ἐμαρτύρει θεόπεμπτον
εἶναι τὸ πῦρ ὡς μηδὲ τοῖς ἀναισχυντεῖν βουλομένοις
εἶναί τινα λόγον λοιπόν.

96 'Αλλ' ὅπερ πρὸ μικροῦ θέλων εἰπεῖν ἀνεβαλόμην τοῦτο νῦν εὐκαίρως ἐρῶ. Τί δὴ τοῦτό ἐστιν; Ὅτι τῷ φόβῳ διέσεισεν αὐτοῦ τὴν ψυχὴν ὁ μάρτυς ὡς μὴ περαιτέρω τῇ τόλμῃ προελθεῖν.

1ss cf Sozomenus HE 5,20 (PG 67, 1277-80)   5ss cf Matt 27.63ss

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AC VH OELSMGR v   1 εὐθὺς G   εὐθὺ R   2 τὸν: τὸ VH SM
3 πληγὰς post πολλὰς VH   πληγὰς G et πλεύρας G^{m} γρ   4 μετριωρίσαντες G   διαξένοντες E^{c} 7 τοῦ G^{m} 8 περὶ om OL
9 ἀπολειφθῆναι G   12 ἔργον om OEL   13 οὐδὲν AC E   16 θέλων om VH   ἀνεβαλόμην V   ἀνεβαλλόμεν O   17 δή: δὲ VH OELSMGRv
18 τῆς τόλμης VH OELSMGR   προσελθεῖν R^{c}

Οὐ γὰρ δήπου τὸν μὲν ἱερέα καὶ ὃν ἐν τοσαύτῃ πρότερον ἦγε τιμῇ τοσούτοις ὑπὲρ τῆς ὀροφῆς περιέβαλλε κακοῖς καὶ θηρίου μᾶλλον ὠμοβόρου διεσπάραττε (τάχα δ'ἂν καὶ ἀπεγεύσατο τῶν σαρκῶν) εἰ μὴ πᾶσι τὸ πρᾶγμα ἐδόκει εἶναι μυσαρόν, τὸν δὲ ἅγιον αὐτὸ τοῦ δαίμονος τὸ στόμα ἐμφράξαντα πάλιν εἰς τὴν πόλιν ἦγεν ὥστε ἐν πλείονι εἶναι τιμῇ. Εἰ γὰρ καὶ μὴ πρότερον ὅτε τὴν ἧτταν ὁ δαίμων ὡμολόγησεν ἀλλὰ μετὰ τὸν ἐμπρησμὸν πάντα ἀνέτρεφεν ἂν καὶ ἀπώλεσε καὶ κατέφλεξε τὴν λάρνακα [τὸ μαρτύριον ἑκάτερον τό τε ἐν τῇ Δάφνῃ τό τε ἐν τῇ πόλει] εἰ μὴ τοῦ θυμοῦ ὁ φόβος ἦν μείζων καὶ τῆς ἀθυμίας ἐκράτει τὸ δέος. Ἔθος γὰρ τοῖς πολλοῖς τῶν ἀνθρώπων ὅταν ὑπὸ ὀργῆς κατασχεθῶσι καὶ λύπης κἂν μὴ τοὺς αἰτίους λάβωσι τῶν παθῶν εἰς τοὺς ἐμπίπτοντας ἁπλῶς καὶ ὑπόπτους ἀφιέναι τὴν ὀργήν. Οὐ πόρρω δὲ τῆς ὑποψίας ταύτης ὁ μάρτυς ἦν. Ἅμα τε γὰρ αὐτὸς εἰς τὴν πόλιν ἀφίκετο καὶ τὸ πῦρ ἦλθεν εἰς τὸν ναόν.

97 Ἀλλ' ὅπερ ἔφην πάθος ἐμάχετο πάθει καὶ ὀργῆς ἐκράτει δειλία. Ἐννόησον γάρ μοι τίς ἦν ὁ χρηστὸς ἐκεῖνος εἰς τὸ

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8 τὸ μαρτύριον ἑκάτερον τό τε ἐν τῇ Δάφνῃ τό τε ἐν τῇ πόλει interpolata cauti sed firmi credimus nam martyrium extra urbem (τό τε ἐν τῇ πόλει universe loquitur) Iuliani tempore nondum aedificatum nec verborum constructio cum sententia reliqua congruit profecto his verbis eiectis cogitatio fluit lenior, quippe qui arcam combussisset nisi metus ira gravior fuisset unde scribam simplicem sed res Antiochenses non ignorantem haec verba Iuliani iram augentia scripsisse putamus cf supra p 70,19ss; infra pp 74,7; 105,8ss

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BAC VH OELSMGR v 2 περιέβαλε VH EGR 3 ὠμοβόρου: αἱμοβόρου VH OELSMGRv 4 ἅγιον ut vid B αὐτοῦ OELGR 5 τὸ om H ἐμφράξαντος G εἰς ut vid B 6 ἐμπλείονι A ἐν om G μὴ om E 8 ἂν om BAC 9 pr ἐν bis M 10 μεῖζον G δέος: τέλος E 11 καταισχεθῶσι M 14 ὑφποψίας H^c 15 ἀφήκετο AC 17 χρησμὸς H προάστειον ἀνιὼν καὶ τὸ μὲν μαρτύριον ὁρῶν ἑστηκὸς τὸν δὲ νεὼν ἐμπεπρησμένον καὶ τὸ εἴδωλον ἠφανισμένον καὶ τὰ ἀναθήματα ἀνηλωμένα καὶ τῆς τε ἑαυτοῦ φιλοτιμίας καὶ τῆς σατανικῆς πομπῆς πᾶσαν ἐξῃρημένην ὑπόμνησιν; Εἰ γὰρ μήτε θυμὸς αὐτὸν μήτε ἀθυμία ταῦτα ὁρῶντα εἰσῄει τὴν γοῦν αἰσχύνην οὐκ ἂν ἤνεγκε καὶ τὸν πολὺν γέλωτα, ἀλλ' ἐξέτεινεν ἂν τὰς ἀνόμους χεῖρας καὶ ἐπὶ τοῦ μακαρίου μαρτύριον εἰ μὴ τοῦτο ὅπερ εἶπον κατεῖχεν αὐτόν.´ Οὐδὲ γὰρ μικρὸν ἦν τὸ γεγονὸς ἀλλὰ πᾶσαν μὲν τῶν Ἑλλήνων τὴν παρρησίαν ἐξέκοψεν ἅπασαν δὲ τὴν εὐφροσύνην ἔσβεσε τοσαύτην δὲ τῆς ἀθυμίας τὴν ἀχλὺν αὐτοῖς κατεσκέδασεν ὅσην ἂν εἰ πάντες ἀπολώλεσαν οἱ ναοί.

XVIII 98 Καὶ ὅτι οὐ κομπάζων λέγω ταῦτα αὐτὰ παραθήσομαι τὰ ῥήματα τῶν ὀδυρμῶν καὶ τῆς μονῳδίας ἣν εἰς τὸννδαίμονα τοῦτον ὁ τῆς πόλεως εἰργάσατο σοφιστής. Ἔχει δὲ οὕτως ἡ τῶν θρήνων ἀρχή·

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7 unum martyrium Babylae Daphnaeum commemorat Chrysostomus: cf supra p 73,5s 8s de παρρησία pagana cf Lib Or 1,7 & 223; videas et ANorman Libanius' Autobiography pp 149, 213; AFestugière Antioche paienne et chrétienne pp 274ss 11 de deorum templis a monachis agrestibus destruendis queritur Libanius in Or 30 (AD 390) 12ss Libanii Monodia de templo Apollonis Daphnaeo (Or 60 Foerster) statim post a d XI Kal Nov 362 scripta (Iul ep 98, 400a,b [ed Bidez-Cumont]) et in Or 30,45 forte commemorata

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AC VH OELSMGR v 1 ἑστηκὼς C 2 καὶ τὸ εἴδωλον ἠφανισμένον om H EL 2 ἀναθύματα G 3 τε om H αὐτοῦ C 6 καὶ om O ἀλ C 7 μακαρίου: μαρτυρίου G 9 ἐνέκοψεν GR 9 s τῇ εὐφροσύνῃ M 10 αὐτοῦ G 11 ὅσον L ὅσην ἂν εἰ: οἱ E ἂν εἰ: οἱ V ἀπολώλεισαν OSM 13 ἣν: ἧς OEL εἰς om E 13 s ἣν. . .σοφιστής E^{m} 14 post πόλεως add τότε V OELSMGRv ad σοφιστής: ὁ Λιβάνιος O$^{m\gamma\rho}$ τὸν Λιβάνιου λόγον C^{m} 15 ἀπαρχή VH OELSMGR

fr 1 Ἄνδρες ὧν τοῖς ὀφθαλμοῖς ἀχλὺς κατακέχυται
Fo ὥσπερ οὖν καὶ τοῖς ἐμοῖς μήτε καλὴν ἔτι μήτε
μεγάλην καλῶμεν τήνδε τὴν πόλιν.

Εἶτα εἰπών τινα περὶ τοῦ μύθου τῆς Δάφνης καὶ διαλεχθείς—οὐ γὰρ ἅπαντα ἐνθεῖναι τὸν λόγον ἐνταῦθα καιρὸς ὑπὲρ τοῦ μὴ μῆκος ἐπεισαγαγεῖν περιττὸν—λέγει ὅτι ὁ Περσῶν βασιλεύς ποτε ὁ τὴν πόλιν ἑλὼν ἐφείσατο τοῦ νεώ. Τὰ δὲ ῥήματά ἐστι ταῦτα·

ffr3 Ὁ μὲν στρατὸν ἐφ' ἡμᾶς ἀγαγὼν ᾤετο αὐτῷ βέλτιον
εἶναι σεσῶσθαι τὸν νεὼν καὶ τὸ κάλλος τοῦ
ἀγάλματος ἐκράτει θυμοῦ βαρβαρικοῦ, νῦν δέ,
ἥλιε καὶ γῆ, τίς ἢ πόθεν ὁ πολέμιος οὗτος ὃς
οὐδὲ ὁπλιτῶν οὐδὲ ἱππέων οὔτε ψιλῶν τινων δεηθεὶς
μικρῷ σπινθῆρι πάντα ἀνάλωσεν;

Εἶτα δεικνὺς ὅτι αὐτοῦ τότε ἐκράτησεν ὁ μακάριος ὅτε μάλιστα ἤνθει τὰ τῶν Ἑλλήνων θυσίαις καὶ τελεταῖς φησί·

6s Sapor I, Persarum rex AD 241-272, Antiochiam AD 256 cepit: cf GDowney A History of Antioch in Syria pp 587ss 9 de simulacro in Daphnaei Apollonis fano exusto videas GDowney A History of Antioch in Syria pp 595s et cf infra p 83,12 13 cf Amm Marc 22,13,3

BAC VH OELSMGR 2 ἔτι om G 2 καλὴν ἔτι μήτε μεγάλην καλῶμεν: καλὴν ἔτι μήδε μεγάλην καλῶμεν AC μήτε μεγάλην μήτε καλὴν ἔτι καλῶμεν VH μεγάλην μήτε καλὴν καλῶμεν ἔτι OEL μεγάλην μήτε καλὴν καλῶμεν SM 3 καλῶμεν τήνδε: οὕτω καλοῦμεν GR τήνδε om E 6 ἐπαγαγεῖν S 7 ὁ om O ὁ τὴν πόλιν ἑλὼν: ὅταν H ῥῆμα AC 10 δὲ om ut vid H 11 ἥλη G 12 ψιλῶν τινων: ψιλῷ BAC 14 τότε: τε GR 15 ἤνθη G

fr 4 Καὶ δὴ καὶ ἡμῖν τὸν νεὼν ὁ μὲν πολὺς ἐκεῖνος
κατακλυσμὸς οὐ παρέσυρεν, ἐν αἰθρίᾳ δὲ καὶ 561
τῆς νεφέλης παρελθούσης κατενήνεκται,

νεφέλην καὶ κατακλυσμὸν τὸν τοῦ προτέρου βασιλέως καιρὸν καλῶν. Καὶ πάλιν μικρὸν προελθὼν αὐτὸ δὴ τοῦτο πικροτέρως ἀποδύρεται λέγων·

fr 5 Εἶτα διψώντων μέν σοι τῶν βωμῶν αἵματος ἔμενες, Ἄπολλον, φρουρὸς ἀκριβὴς τῆς Δάφνης καὶ ῥαθυμούμενος, ἔστι δὲ ὅπη καὶ προπηλακιζόμενος περικοπτόμενός τε τὸν ἔξω κόσμον ἠνείχου, νῦν δὲ μετὰ πολλὰ μὲν πρόβατα πολλοὺς δὲ βόας στόμα βασιλέως ὅσιον τῷ ποδὶ δεξάμενος, ἰδὼν ὃν προὔλεγες, ὀφθεὶς ὑπὸ τοῦ μεμηνυμένου, πονηροῦ γειτονήματος ἀπαλλαγεὶς νεκροῦ τινος ἐνοχλοῦντος ἐγγύθεν ἐκ μέσης τῆς θεραπείας ἀποπεπήδηκας. Πόθεν ἔτι φιλοτιμησόμεθα πρὸς ἄνδρας ἱερῶν μεμνημένους καὶ ἀγαλμάτων;

1s tempestas turbulenta est regnum Sancti Constantini et eius filiorum (AD 306-361) 2s serenum est imperium Iuliani (AD 355-63) 13 cf infra p 85,17ss: nusquam alibi Apollonem Iuliani adventum praedixisse invenimus sed cf Lib Or 15,80 ubi aliquod omen secundum de Iuliano refertur

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BAC VH OELSMGR v 2 κατακλισμὸς G 5 προελθὼν G^m πικροτέρ[. .] O πικρότερον EL 7 ad Εἶτα: Κωνσταντῖνον τὸν μέγαν καὶ Κωνστάντιον λέγει G^mR^m σου V G βωμῶν: κωμῶν G post βωμῶν add ἔρωτος eras H 8 Ἀπόλλων B Ἄπολον G 9 ἐστὶ: ἔτι H δ' ὅπῃ EL ὅπι C 10 ἠνέσχου A Rv 11 πολλοὺς: πολλὰς H OELG βοῦς AVH OELSMGRv 13 ὃν: ὧν AC ῶ in ras B προὔλεγεν H 15 ἐγγύθεν: ἐκεῖθεν G μέσου G 16 ἀπεπήδηκας GR 17 φιλοτιμισόμεθα C 18 καὶ om AC OL

99 Τί λέγεις, ὦ θρηνῳδέ; Ἀτιμαζόμενος μὲν καὶ προπηλακιζόμενος τῆς Δάφνης ἔμενε φρουρὸς ἀσφαλής, τιμώμενος δὲ καὶ θεραπευόμενος οὐδὲ τὸν ναὸν ἴσχυσε φυλάξαι τὸν αὐτοῦ καὶ ταῦτα εἰδὼς ὅτι ἐκείνου πεσόντος εἰς μείζονα ἀτιμίαν καταστήσεται τῆς προτέρας; Τίς δὲ καὶ ὁ νεκρός, ὦ σοφιστά, ὁ τὸν σὸν θεὸν ἐνοχλῶν; Ποῖον τὸ πονηρὸν γειτόνημα; Ἐνταῦθα γὰρ εἰς τὰς τοῦ μακαρίου Βαβύλα ἀνδραγαθίας ἐμπεσὼν καὶ διανήξασθαι τὴν αἰσχύνην οὐκ ἔχων ἐγκαλυψάμενος ἀπλῶς παρέδραμεν—ὅτι μὲν ὑπὸ τοῦ μάρτυρος ἠνωχλεῖτο καὶ ἐθλίβετο ὁ δαίμων εἰπὼν οὐκέτι δὲ προσθεὶς πῶς τὴν ἧτταν συσκιάσαι σπουδάσας ὁ δαίμων, μᾶλλον αὐτὴν ἐξεκάλυψεν—ἀλλ' ἀπλῶς "πονηροῦ γειτονήματος" φησιν, "ἀπαλλαγείς." Διὰ τί γὰρ οὐ λέγεις τὸν νεκρὸν τίς ἦν καὶ διὰ τί μόνος ἠνώχλει σου τὸν θεὸν καὶ διὰ τί μετεκινεῖτο μόνος; Διὰ τί δὲ καὶ πονηρὸν αὐτὸν γειτόνημα καλεῖς, εἰπέ μοι; Ὅτι τοῦ δαίμονος τὴν ἀπάτην ἤλεγξε; Καὶ μὴν τοῦτο οὐ πονηροῦ τινος γειτονήματος ἔργον ἦν ὥσπερ οὐδὲ νεκροῦ ἀλλὰ καὶ ζῶντος καὶ ἐνεργοῦντος καὶ χρηστοῦ καὶ προστάτου καὶ κηδεμόνος καὶ πάντα ὑπὲρ τῆς ὑμετέρας πραγματευομένου σωτηρίας εἴ γε ἐβούλεσθε.

BAC VH OELSMGR v 1 ὦ om ut vid O 2 ante τῆς hab δὲ καὶ eras E ἀσφαλής: ἀκριβής AC 3 αὐτοῦ R 4 πεσόντος in ras O 4s καταστῆσαι G 6 post ποῖον add τοῦτο G 7 γὰρ om O 8 αἰσχύνην: ἰσχὺν S ἐγκαταλυψάμενος E 8s ἀπλῶς παρέδραμεν in ras B 9 ἠνοχλεῖτο ACV 10 καὶ ante τὴν add V et ut sententia nova H συσκιάσας G 11 σπουδάζων AC σπουδάσας om GR αὐτὸς VH OESM ἀλλὰ GR ἀλλ' ἀπλῶς: ἀπλῶς γάρ φησι VH OELSMv 12 φησιν om VH OELSMGRv 13 ante τὸν νεκρὸν add ὦ ληρόσοφε VH OELSMGRv (cf scholium simile: Libanii opera 3,109 [ed Foerster]) ἐνοχλεῖ B ἠνόχλει C ἠνώχλει σου: ἠνόχλησον G 14s αὐτὸν ante καλεῖς H OEL 15 γείτονα H OELS 16 ἤλεγξαι G^c γειτονήματος om BAC GR 17 ἦν ἔργον VH post ὥσπερ add οὖν VH LMGR καὶ ante ζῶντος om VH OELS 18 καὶ ante πάντα om R 19 ἐβούλεσθαι G^c ὑμετέρης ut vid H πραγματευόμενος H σωτηρίας om G

100 Ἵνα γὰρ ὑμῖν μὴ ἐξῇ ἐπὶ πλέον ἀπατᾶν ἑαυτοὺς καὶ λέγειν ὅτι ὀργιζόμενος καὶ ὑπὲρ θυσιῶν ἐγκαλῶν καὶ ὑπὲρ τῆς ἄλλης θεραπείας μεμφόμενος ἀνεχώρησεν ἑκών, διὰ τοῦτο αὐτὸν καὶ ἐκ τοῦ χωρίου τούτου παντὸς ἀπήλασεν ὃ μάλιστα πάντων φίλον ἦν αὐτῷ καὶ ὃ τῶν ἄλλων οὕτω προετίμησεν ὡς καὶ ἀτιμαζόμενος προσεδρεύειν αὐτῷ. Σὺ γὰρ τοῦτο προλαβὼν εἶπες·

> IV 314,7 Fo καὶ ἐν τούτῳ δὲ τῷ καιρῷ ἐν ᾧ πολλὰ μὲν πρόβατα
> πολλοὺς δὲ βοῦς αὐτῷ κατέσφαττεν ὁ βασιλεύς. . .

ὥστε πανταχόθεν ἐλέγχεσθαι ὅτι ἀναγκαζόμενος καὶ ὑπὸ μείζονος ὠθούμενος δυνάμεως τὴν Δάφνην ἀπέλιπεν. Ἐνῆν μὲν γὰρ καὶ τοῦ ξοάνου μένοντος διώκειν αὐτὸν ἀλλ' ὑμεῖς οὐκ ἂν ἐπιστεύσατε ὥσπερ οὖν οὐδὲ πάλαι ὅτε ὑπ' αὐτοῦ πεπέδητο ἀλλ' ἐνέκεισθε θεραπεύοντες. Δι' ὃ πρότερον ἀφεὶς ἑστάναι τὸ ξόανον ὅτε μάλιστα ἤρθη τῆς ἀσεβείας ἡ φλὸξ τότε αὐτὸ κατήνεγκε, δεικνὺς ὅτι τὸν νικῶντα οὕτω χρὴ νικᾶν οὐ τεταπεινωμένων ἀλλ' αἰρομένων καὶ λαμπρῶν ὄντων περιγινόμενον τῶν ἐχθρῶν.

4s Seleucus I hortos Daphnae ca AD 300 consecravit Apolloni sec Lib Or 11,94-99; qua pro re fabula Apollonis et nymphae Daphnae in tessallato pavimento Antiochiae depicta (DLevi Antioch Mosaic Paintings 1,211-214) 7s cum his Libanii verbis cf fr 5 (supra p 76,8ss)

BAC VH OELSMGR 3 αὐτῷ post corr G 4 καὶ om S 6 εἶπας VH OSMGR 7s πολλὰ. . .αὐτῷ: πολλοὺς δὲ βωμοὺς GR 8 πολλοὺς: πολλὰς OEL δὲ βοῦς om H αὐτῷ post κατέσφαττεν GR 10 ἀπέλειπεν AC ἀπέλισεν G 11 τοῦς M 12 οὖν H^{m} ὅτε: ὅτι BACH OESM 12s ἐνέκεισθαι AC G 14 ἤρθη in ras V 15 νικόντα C οὐ: οὔτε C 16 αἰ in αἰρομένων in ras V περιγινομένων AC

101 Διὰ τί γὰρ αὐτὸς τότε οὐκ ἐκέλευσε τῷ εἰς τὴν Δάφνην αὐτὸν ἀναγαγόντι βασιλεῖ κατασκάψαι τὸν νεών, μεταθεῖναι τὸ ξόανον ὥσπερ τὴν λάρνακα; Ὅτι οὔτε ἐβλάπτετο παρ' αὐτοῦ οὔτε σαρκικῆς ἔχρῃζε συμμαχίας ἀλλὰ καὶ τότε καὶ νῦν χωρὶς ἀνθρωπίνης αὐτὸν κατέβαλε χειρός. Καὶ τὴν μὲν προτέραν ἡμῖν οὐκ ἐδήλωσε νίκην, ἀλλ' ἐπιστομίσας αὐτὸν μόνον ἡσύχαζε. 562

102 Τοιοῦτοι γὰρ οἱ ἅγιοι· κατορθοῦσθαι βούλονται τὰ πρὸς τὴν τῶν ἀνθρώπων σωτηρίαν μόνον οὐκέτι δὲ καὶ ἐπιδείκνυσθαι τοῖς πολλοῖς ὅτι αὐτῶν τὰ κατορθώματα πλὴν εἴ πού τις χρεία ἀναγκάσειε——χρείαν δὲ τὴν τῶν σωζομένων κηδεμονίαν λέγω πάλιν—— ὅπερ τότε ἐγένετο. Ἐπειδὴ γὰρ τὰ τῆς ἀπάτης ηὔξετο κακὰ ἐκκαλύπτεται μὲν ἡμῖν ἡ νίκη λοιπὸν ἐκκαλύπται δὲ οὐχ ὑπὸ τοῦ νικήσαντος ἀλλ' ὑπὸ τοῦ νικηθέντος αὐτοῦ. Οὕτω γὰρ ἥ τε μαρτυρία καὶ παρὰ τοῖς ἐχθροῖς ἀνύποπτος ἦν ὅ τε ἅγιος τὰ περὶ αὐτοῦ λέγειν καὶ ἀνάγκης οὔσης ἐξέφυγεν. Ἐπειδὴ δὲ οὐδὲ οὕτω τὰ τῆς πλάνης ἔληγεν ἀλλ' ἐνέκειντο πάλιν οἱ τῶν λίθων ἀναισθητότεροι τὸν ἡττημένον παρακαλοῦντες καὶ πρὸς οὕτω φανερὰν ἀλήθειαν τυφλώττοντες, τηνικαῦτα ἐπαφεῖναι ἠναγκάσθη τῷ ξοάνῳ τὸ πῦρ ὥστε διὰ τούτου τοῦ ἐμπρησμοῦ ἕτερον τὸν τῆς εἰδωλολατρείας σβέσαι ἐμπρησμόν.

BAC VH OELSMGR v 2 ἀναγαγόντι in ras B ἀγαγόντι V ἀνάγοντι G 3 post ὥσπερ add οὖν ambo in ras B οὖν καὶ AC GR ὁ δαίμων V οὖν ὁ δαίμων H OELSM ἐβλέπετο G 3 s Ὅτι οὔτε. . .συμμαχίας OEL 4 s αὐτὸν post χωρὶς E 5 αὐτὸν om L κατέλαβεν in κατέβαλε B^{c2} κατέβαλλε G^{*} 6 αὐτὴν V ἡσύχασε S 7 κατορθοῦσθε H τὰ om H 9 ὅτι: ὅτε G 10 χρεία R σωζομένων: ἀνθρώπων EL —θρώπ— in ras O σωζομένων ut vid $L^{m\gamma\rho}$ κηδεμονίας R 11 τῆς: τοῖς G 12 ἡμῖν om H ESMR 13 γὰρ om AC ἥ τε: οὔτε G 14 τὰ: τὸ C 15 ἑαυτοῦ VH MGR 15 s supra Ἐπειδὴ. . .πλάνης litt in ras B^{2} 16 πάλιν: πάλαι A 18 τυφλωττον E εῖ in ἐπαφεῖναι in ras V 19 τὸν om E τῆς om ELGv 20 σβέσειεν G

XIX 103 Τί οὖν μέμφῃ τῷ δαίμονι λέγων ὅτι "ἐκ μέσης τῆς θεραπείας ἀποπεπήδηκας;" Οὐκ ἀπεπήδηκεν ἑκὼν ἀλλ' ἀπηλάσθη καὶ ἐξεβλήθη ἄκων καὶ ἀναγκαζόμενος τότε ὅτε μάλιστα μένειν ἤθελε καὶ διὰ τὴν κνίσαν καὶ διὰ τὰ θύματα. Ὥσπερ γὰρ εἰς τοῦτο βασιλεύσας ὁ τότε κρατῶν ἵνα τὰ θρέμματα τῆς οἰκουμένης ἀναλώσῃ πάσης οὕτως ἀφειδῶς κατέκοπτεν ἐπὶ τῶν βωμῶν πρόβατα καὶ βοῦς, καὶ εἰς τοῦτο μανίας ἤλασεν ὡς καὶ τῶν παρ' αὐτοῖς δοκούντων ἔτι φιλοσοφεῖν πολλοὺς μάγειρον αὐτὸν καὶ κρεῶν κάπηλον καὶ πάντα τὰ τοιαῦτα ἀποκαλεῖν. Οὐκ ἂν οὖν οὕτω δαψιλοῦς τραπέζης καὶ κνίσης καὶ καπνῶν καὶ χειμάρρων αἱμάτων ἀνεχώρησεν ὁ δαίμων ἑκὼν ὁ καὶ χωρὶς τούτων μένων, ὡς ἔφης, διὰ τὴν πρὸς τὴν ἐρωμένην μανίαν.

104 Ἀλλὰ γὰρ τὸν παρ' ἡμῶν λόγον στήσαντες τέως πάλιν ἐπακούσωμεν τῶν ὀδυρμῶν τοῦ σοφιστοῦ. Ἀφεὶς γὰρ τὸν Ἀπόλλω πρὸς τὸν Δία πάλιν ὀλοφύρεται λέγων·

8ss cf Amm Marc 22,14,3; Socrates HE 3,17 (PG 67,424s) 11s cf supra p 50,14s

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AC VH OELSMGR v 2 ἀποπεπήδηκεν VH SR πο supra O 3 μένειν: μὲν E 4 κνίσσαν H ELGRv alt σ suprascr O 6 οὕτω S 7 τοῦτο: τοσοῦτον VH OL ὥστε VH OLS 9 τοιαῦτα in ras V ἀποβαλεῖν G δαψιλῶς G 10 κνίσσης AVH ELMGRv alt σ supra O καπνοῦ VH OELSMGRv χιμάρων H αμ$\overset{x}{α}$τ G αἱμάτ⟨ων⟩ G^{m} γρ ἀνεχώρησεν: ἀναισρήσεν A αι ut vid C 13 ἡμῖν S λόγων H^{c} 14 γὰρ in ras G Ἀπόλλωνα VH MR x supra ω G 15 πάλιν om VH OEM ὠλοφύρετο OE fr 6 Οἷαν, ὦ Ζεῦ, γνώμης καμνούσης ἀφῃρέθημεν ἀνάπαυλαν. Ὡς καθαρὸν μὲν θορύβων ἡ Δάφνη χωρίον καθαρώτερος δὲ ὁ νεὼς οἷον λιμένος ἐπὶ λιμένι παρ' αὐτῆς πεποιημένου τῆς φύσεως, ἀκυμάντοιν μὲν ἀμφοῖν πλείω δὲ τὴν ἡσυχίαν παρεχομένου τοῦ δευτέρου. Τίς μὲν οὐκ ἂν αὐτόθι νόσον ἀπέδυ; Τίς δὲ οὐκ ἂν φόβον; Τίς δὲ οὐκ ἂν πένθος; Τίς δὲ ἂν ἐπόθησε τὰς μακάρων νήσους;

Ποίαν ἀνάπαυλαν ἀφῃρέθημεν, ὦ μιαρέ; Πῶς δὲ καθαρώτερος θορύβων ὁ νεὼς καὶ λιμὴν ἀκύμαντος ἔνθα αὐλοὶ καὶ τύμπανα καὶ κραιπάλαι καὶ κῶμοι καὶ μέθαι; "Τίς οὐκ ἂν αὐτόθι," φησί, "νόσον ἀπέδυ;" Τίς μὲν οὖν τῶν προσκειμένων σοι οὐκ ἂν ἐδέξατο νόσον αὐτόθι εἰ καὶ πρότερον ὑγιαίνων ἐτύγχανε καὶ νόσον τὴν πασῶν χαλεπωτάτην; Ὁ γὰρ τὸν δαίμονα προσκυνῶν καὶ τῆς Δάφνης τὴν ὑπόθεσιν ἀκούων καὶ τοῦ θεοῦ τὴν μανίαν τοσαύτην ὁρῶν, ὡς καὶ καταποθείσης τῆς ἐρωμένης ἔτι προσεδρεύειν τῷ τόπῳ καὶ τῷ φυτῷ, πόσην ἐκεῖθεν οὐκ ἂν ἐδέξατο φλόγα μανίας; Πόσον χειμῶνα; Πόσον θόρυβον; Πόσην νόσον; Πόσον πάθος; Τοῦτο οὖν ἀνάπαυλαν καλεῖς ψυχῆς καὶ λιμένα ἀκύμαντον; Τοῦτο νόσων ἀπαλλαγήν; Καὶ τί θαυμαστὸν εἰ τὰ ἐναντία τοῖς ἐναντίοις τίθεσαι; Καὶ γὰρ οἱ μαινόμενοι τῶν πραγμάτων οὐδενὸς

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11 cf Luc 21.34, Gal 5.21a

BAC VH OELSMGR 2 καθαρῶν V 4 πεποιημένοι VH SMR ἀκύμαντοι AC VH ἀκυμάντον E 5 πλείο C τὴν om OE 6 αὐτόθεν SM 8 δ'ἂν H οὐκ ante ἂν add R τοὺς R 10 ναὸς in νεὸς R^{c} 11 κρεπάλαι L αὐτόθεν SM 17 οὐκ ἂν ἐκεῖθεν om BAC VH OESM 17 πόσην. . .θόρυβον om B 19 καλεῖς G καλῆς G^{mγρ} 20 εἰ τὰ: ἔσται A 21 οὐδὲν H ὡς ἔχει φύσεως αἰσθάνονται ἀλλὰ ἐναντίας τοῖς οὖσι τὰς ψήφους φέρουσιν.

105 "'Ολύμπια μὲν οὐ μάλα πόρρω"—πάλιν γὰρ ἐπὶ τὸν
θρῆνον ἐλεύσομαι δεικνὺς ὅσην ἅπαντες οἱ τότε τὴν πόλιν οἱ- 563
κοῦντες Ἕλληνες ἐδέξαντο τὴν πληγὴν καὶ ὡς οὐκ ἂν τοῦτο πράως
ἤνεγκεν ὁ βασιλεὺς ἀλλὰ πάντα θυμὸν εἰς τὴν τοῦ μάρτυρος λάρ-
νακα ἀφῆκεν ἂν εἰ μὴ φόβῳ κατείχετο μείζονι—τί οὖν φησιν;

> fr 7 'Ολύμπια μὲν οὐ μάλα πόρρω, συγκαλέσει δὲ ἡ
> πανήγυρις τὰς πόλεις αἱ δὲ ἥξουσι βοῦς ἄγουσαι
> τῷ 'Απόλλωνι θυσίαν. Τί δράσωμεν; Ποῖ κατα-
> λυσώμεθα; Τίς ἡμῖν θεῶν διαστήσει τὴν γῆν;
> Ποῖος κῆρυξ, ποία σάλπιγξ οὐχ ὑποκινήσει δάκ-
> ρυον; Τίς ἑορτὴν ἐρεῖ τὰ 'Ολύμπια τοῦ πτώμα-
> fr 8 τος ἐγγύθεν ἐπεμβάλλοντος ὀδυρμόν; "Δὸς τόξα
> μοι κερουλκά," φησὶν ἡ τραγῳδία, ἐγὼ δὲ λέγω
> καὶ μαντικῆς τι μικρὸν ὅπως τῇ μὲν ἕλω τῇ δὲ
> τοξεύσω τὸν δράσαντα. "Ω τόλμης ἀσεβοῦς,

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8 Antiochiae Olympia aestate celebrata sec Lib Or 53,26, quae in AD 364 facta demonstrat GSievers Das Leben des Libanius p 208
14s Eurip Ores 268

BAC VH OELSMGR v 2 ἐκφέρουσιν VH OELGRv 3 οὐ: οὖν VH et οὖν οὐ E γὰρ om H 4 πόλην C 5 ταῦτα VH OELSMR 7 ἂν om BAC 8 οὐ: οὖν VH OE 10 δράσομεν VH OELGRv 10s καταλυσώμεθα: κατλυσώμεθα B καταδυσόμεθα VH OELGRv καταδυσώμεθα SM 11 διαστήση B S γῆν: ὀργὴν EL 12 σάλπιξ A 13 ad Τίς: schol illeg L^{m} 14 ἐγγύθεν: ἐκεῖθεν SMGR ἐπεμβάλοντος GR 15 κερουλκὰ: καὶ χοίνικα BAC R 16 τῇ δὲ: τοῖς δὲ AC EL ὦ ψυχῆς μιαρᾶς, ὦ θρασείας χειρός. Τίτυός τις οὗτος ἕτερος ἢ Ἴδας ὁ ἀδελφὸς Λυγκέως οὐ μέγας μὲν ὥσπερ ἐκεῖνος οὐδὲ τοξότης ὥσπερ οὗτος ἀλλ' ἓν τοῦτο εἰδὼς τὸ κατὰ θεῶν μαίνεσθαι. Τοὺς μὲν Ἀλωέως ἔτι διανοουμένους τὰς τῶν θεῶν ἐπιβουλὰς θανάτῳ κατέπαυσας, Ἄπολλον, τούτῳ δὲ πόρρωθεν φέροντι τὸ πῦρ οὐκ ἀπήντησεν ὀιστὸς ἐπ' αὐτὴν φερόμενος τὴν fr 9 καρδίαν. Ὦ δεξιᾶς τελχῖνος, ὦ πυρὸς ἀδίκου. Ποῦ ποτε ἄρα τὸ πρῶτον ἔπεσε; Τί τοῦ κακοῦ τὸ προοίμιον; Ἆρα ἐξ ὀροφῆς ἀρξάμενον ἐπὶ τὰ ἄλλα προὔβη· τὴν κεφαλὴν ἐκείνην, τὸ πρόσωπον, τὴν φιάλην, τὴν κίδαριν, τὸν ποδήρη χιτῶνα; Ἥφαιστος δὲ πυρὸς ταμίας οὐκ ἠπείλησε τῷ πυρὶ λυμαινομένῳ τὴν χάριν ὀφειλων τῷ θεῷ μηνύματος ἀρχαίου. Ἀλλ' οὐδὲ ὁ Ζεὺς ὄμβρων ἡνίας ἔχων ὕδωρ ἀφῆκεν ἐπὶ τὴν φλόγα καὶ ταῦτα ποτε Λυδῶν βασιλεῖ δυσ-

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1 cf Hom Od 11,576ss   2 cf Pind N 10,55ss   4s cf Pind O 9,37s; P 2,26s   5s cf Hom Od 11,305ss   12 de Apollonis Daphnaei simulacro pulcherrimo cf Philostorgius HE 7,8 (pp 87,19ss [ed Bidez]); GRichter Sculpture and Sculptors of the Greeks^3 p 281   GDowney A History of Antioch in Syria p 85   15 Apollo-Helios de Aphrodites Aresque stupro Hephaestum monuit sec Hom Od 8,267ss: cf infra p 87,8ss   16ss Apollo non Zeus a Croeso invocatus in Herod 1,87,1s

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BAC VH OELSMGR v 2 τις om E   Ἴδας: ἴλας OELG   γ in Λυγκέως B^{e2} Λυγγεώς S   4 τὸ om BAC   ante θεῶν add τῶν G   6 θεὸν G   7 πόρρωθεν om GR   8 φερόμενος: πετόμενος AVH OELSMGRv   πετώμενος C   11 ἀρξάμενος M   12 τἄλλα VH OLS   14 δὲ: δὴ V   post δὲ add δὴ H OESM   τὰ μίας C   15 λυμαινόμενος AC   18 Λυδῶν ποτε VH OELSMv fr 10 τυχήσαντι σβέσας πυράν. Τί πρῶτον ἆρα πρὸς αὐτὸν εἶπεν ὁ τὸν πόλεμον ἀράμενος; Πόθεν ποτὲ τὸ θάρσος; Πῶς δὲ ἐφύλαξε τὴν ὁρμήν; Πῶς δὲ οὐκ ἔλυσε τὸ δόγμα τοῦ θεοῦ τὸ κάλλος αἰδεσθείς;

Μέχρι τίνος σού διαβλάψεις, ἆθλιε καὶ ταλαίπωρε, ταῦτα ἀνθρωπίνης εἶναι λέγων χειρὸς καὶ ὥσπερ οἱ παραπαίοντες ἐναντιολογῶν καὶ σαυτῷ μαχόμενος;

106 Εἰ γὰρ τὸν Περσῶν βασιλέα καὶ τοσαύτην ἄγοντα στρατιὰν καὶ τὴν πόλιν ἑλόντα καὶ τὰ λοιπὰ τῶν ἱερῶν ἐμπρήσαντα καὶ τὴν δᾷδα μετὰ χεῖρας ἔχοντα καὶ προσάγειν αὐτὴν ἤδη τούτῳ μέλλοντα τῷ ναῷ μετέβαλεν ὁ δαίμων--καὶ γὰρ καὶ ταῦτα ἐν ἀρχῇ τῆς μονῳδίας ἔλεγες οὕτως εἰπὼν θρηνῶν·

fr 2 Τόν τοι βασιλέα Περσῶν τοῦ νῦν τούτου πολεμοῦντος πρόγονον, προδοσίᾳ τὸ ἄστυ λαβόντα καὶ ἐμπρήσαντα, χωρήσαντα ἐπὶ Δάφνης ὡς τὸ αὐτὸ δράσοντα μετέβαλεν ὁ θεὸς καὶ τὴν δᾷδα ῥίψας προσεκύνησε τὸν Ἀπόλλω· οὕτως αὐτὸν κατεπράυνέ τε καὶ διήλλαξε φανείς--

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9ss cf supra p 75,8ss et videas Herod 9,42,3

BAC VH OELSMGR v 1 Τὸ in Τί B^{s2} 3 θράσος V OS 7 λέγεις R post χειρὸς add ἢ λέγων ἰσχύος ut glossam intrusam G 9 τῶν AC 10 ἐμπρίσαντα C 13 θρηνῶν post ἔλεγες VH OELSMGRv 14 post Τὸν add υἱὸν V τοι: τε GR post Περσῶν add υἱὸν H τὸν υἱὸν SMR in ras O 14s ante πολεμοῦντος add τοῦ ACV 15 post πρόγονον add καὶ AC VH OESMR τῷ ἄστει GR 16 Δάφνην VH ESMGRv τὴν Δάφνην OL 17 μετέβαλλεν G 18 τῷ Ἀπόλλωνι VH OELSMGRv 19 διήλλαξε: διήλεγξε B φανης supra φανείς G^{s}

῾Ο δὴ θυμοῦ βαρβαρικοῦ καὶ τοσαύτης περιγενόμενος στρατιᾶς (ὡς ἔφης) καὶ δυνηθεὶς τότε τὸν κίνδυνον διαφυγεῖν--λέγεις δὲ ὅτι τοὺς ᾿Αλωέως παῖδας διανοουμένους τὰς τῶν θεῶν ἐπιβουλὰς θανάτῳ κατέπαυσε--πῶς οὖν ὁ τοσαῦτα δυνηθεὶς οὐδὲν τοιοῦτον εἰργάσατο νῦν;

107 Καίτοι εἰ μηδὲν ἕτερον τὸν γοῦν ἱερέα σπαραττόμενον
ἀδίκως ἐλεῆσαι ἐχρῆν φανερὸν καταστήσαντα τὸν ἐπίβουλον. Καὶ
εἰ τότε παρὰ τὸν ἐμπρησμὸν διέφυγεν ὅτε γοῦν ὁ δείλαιος ἐκ-
εῖνος κρεμάμενος διωρύττετο τὰς πλευρὰς καὶ τὸν ἐργασάμενον
ἀπαιτούμενος εἰπεῖν οὐκ εἶχε τότε παραστῆναι ἐχρῆν καὶ ἐκ-
δοῦναι τὸν δράσαντα ἢ καταμηνῦσαι μόνον εἴ γε ἐκδοῦναι 564
οὐκ ἴσχυε. Νῦν δὲ περιορᾷ μὲν ὁ ἀχάριστος καὶ ἀγνώμων τὸν
αὐτοῦ θεραπευτὴν καταξαινόμενον ἀλόγως περιορᾷ δὲ τὸν βασιλέα
μετὰ τοσαύτας θυσίας καταγελώμενον. Καὶ γὰρ ὡς μαινόμενον
καὶ παραπαίοντα πάντες ἐγέλων αὐτὸν ὅτε εἰς τὸν ἄθλιον ἐκεῖνον
ἠφίει τὴν ὀργήν.

108 Πῶς δὲ ὁ τοῦ βασιλέως τὴν παρουσίαν ἔτι μακρὰν ὄντος προλέγων (καὶ γὰρ καὶ τοῦτο ἀνωτέρω τούτων ἐθρήνεις) τὸν

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6 cf supra p 72,1ss   17ss cf supra p 76,13

BAC VH OESMGR   1 ὁ ante τοσαύτης add O   6 post Καίτοι add γε forte recte AC   Καίτοι εἰ: καὶ ποιεῖ G   7 ante ἐπίβουλον add ἀντίπαλον ut glossam intrusam H   8 παρὰ om VH SMR   ὅτε: ὅτι R   γοῦν om H 10 ἀπαιτούμενον S   εἶχεν in ras B   11 ἢ om AC GR   12 οὐκ in ras O   μὲν om E   13 αὐτοῦ L   καταξεόμενον AC   τοῦ βασιλέως G   τὸν βασιλέα G^{m} 15 παραπέοντα AC   16 ἀφίει H πλησίον ἑστῶτα καὶ κατακαίοντα αὐτὸν οὐκ εἶδε; Καίτοι γε καὶ μαντικὸν αὐτὸν εἶναί φατε καὶ ἄλλοις ἄλλας διανέμοντες τέχνας καθάπερ ἀνθρώποις τοῖς ὑμετέροις θεοῖς τούτῳ τὴν μαντικὴν ἀνεθήκατε καὶ οὐδὲ μεταδοῦναι αὐτόν σοι τῆς τέχνης ἀξιοῖς. Πῶς οὖν τὰς οἰκείας οὐκ ἔγνω συμφοράς; Καίτοι τοῦτο οὐδ' ἂν ἄνδρα διέλαθεν. Ἀλλ' ἆρα μὴ ἐκάθευδεν ἁπτομένου τοῦ πυρός; Ἀλλ' οὐδὲ οὕτως ἀναίσθητός τίς ἐστιν ὡς αὐτῷ τῆς φλογὸς προσφερομένης μὴ διαναστῆναι εὐθέως καὶ τὸν προσάγοντα κατασχεῖν. Ἀληθῶς "Ἕλληνες ἀεὶ παῖδες γέρων δὲ Ἕλλην οὐδείς" δέον γὰρ τὴν οἰκείαν ἄνοιαν θρηνεῖν ὅτι τῶν πραγμάτων βοώντων τὴν τῶν δαιμόνων ἀπάτην οὐδὲ οὕτως ἀφίστασθε ἀλλ' ἐκδόντες ἑαυτοὺς εἰς ἀπώλειαν καὶ τὴν ὑμετέραν ἀποδόμενοι σωτηρίαν ἄγεσθε δίκην θρεμμάτων ὅπερ ἂν κελεύωσιν ἕπεσθαι οἳ κάθησθε ξοάνων πενθοῦντες ἀπώλειαν.

109 Σὺ δὲ καὶ τόξα ἀπαιτεῖς οὐδὲν ἐκείνου τοῦ ταῦτα ἐν τῇ τραγῳδίᾳ λέγοντος διεστηκώς. Πῶς γὰρ οὐ μανία πρόδηλος καὶ σαφὴς προσδοκᾶν τι τοῖς ὅπλοις τούτοις ἀνύειν ἃ τὸν κεκτημένον οὐδὲν ὤνησεν; Εἰ μὲν γὰρ αὐτὸς μείζονα καὶ τὴν τέχνην καὶ τὴν ἐμπειρίαν τοῦ δαίμονος ἔχειν φὴς οὐκ ἐχρῆν αὐτὸν τιμᾶν

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1 cf Aug De civ Dei 6,9 (ed Bardy)   9 Plato Timaeus 22b4s   14s e his verbis Chrysostomum Euripidis fabulam Orestem legisse constat: cf supra p 82,14s

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BAC VH OELSMGR   2 διανέμωντες C   3 ἡμετέροις V   3s ἀνεθήκατε in ras V   5 Καίτοι: καὶ E   6 μή: μην ut vid S   9 οὐδῆς M   10 ὅτι: καὶ V   τοῦ δαίμονος O   11 ἀφίστασθαι B   13 οἳ om AC   οἳ: καὶ VH SMR   κάθεισθε C   κάθησθαι G   14 schol illeg L^m τόξον G^c ἀπετεῖς G   15 διεστηκῶσι GR   17 ὄνησεν G   καὶ ante τὴν om OLMG

ἀμαθέστερόν τε ὄντα καὶ ἀσθενέστερον ἐν οἷς αὐτόν φατε πάντων κρατεῖν. Εἰ δὲ τῶν πρωτείων ἐκείνῳ παραχωρεῖς ἄν τε τοξεύειν ἄν τε μαντεύεσθαι δέῃ, πῶς ἐν τῷ μέρει τῆς τέχνης ταῦτα προσ-
XX εδόκησας δράσειν ἅπερ ὁ τὴν ὅλην ἔχων οὐκ ἴσχυσε; Γέλως ταῦτα καὶ λῆρος· οὔτε γὰρ εἶχέ τε μαντικῆς οὔτε κἂν εἶχεν ἤνυσεν ἄν. Οὐ γάρ ἐστιν, οὐκ ἔστιν ὁ ταῦτα ἐργασάμενος ἀνὴρ ἀλλὰ θεία δύναμις.

110 Καὶ τὴν αἰτίαν δὲ μετὰ ταῦτα ἐρῶ, τέως δὲ ἄξιον μαθεῖν ὑπὲρ ὧν ἀγνωμοσύνην ἐγκαλεῖ τῷ Ἡφαίστῳ οὑτωσί πως λέγων· "Ἥφαιστος δὲ πυρὸς ταμίας οὐκ ἠπείλησε τῷ πυρὶ λυμαινομένῳ τὴν χάριν ὀφείλων τῷ θεῷ μηνύματος ἀρχαίου." Ποίαν χάριν; Ποίου μηνύματος ἀρχαίου, εἰπέ; Διὰ τί κρυπτεις σου τὰ σεμνὰ τῶν θεῶν κατορθώματα; Εἰ γὰρ καὶ τὴν εἶπες αὐτὴν μᾶλλον ἂν ἀγνώμονα τὸν Ἥφαιστον ἔδειξας. Ἀλλ' αἰσχύνῃ καὶ ἐρυθριᾷς· οὐκοῦν ἡμεῖς μετὰ παρρησίας ἐροῦμεν τὰ σά. Τίς οὖν ἡ χάρις;

> Ἐρασθέντα ποτὲ τὸν Ἄρην τῆς Ἀφροδίτης καὶ τὸν Ἥφαιστον--ἄνδρα γὰρ αὐτῆς εἶναι--δεδοικότα

6s cf EBorries RE 10 (1917),57: "wenn die Kirchenhistoriker sich darin gefallen, diesen angeblich durch Blitz entstandenen Brand als göttliche Strafe darzustellen, so kann dennoch kein Zweifel bestehen, dass Christen die Brandstifter gewesen sind." sane Iulianus propter invidiam inveteratam credidit Christianos templum incendisse: Misop 361bc, Amm Marc 22,13,2 8 cf infra p 96,10 9 cf supra p 83,15 15ss famam huius historiae fontem praebet Chrysostomus

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AC VH OELSMGR v 1 τε om OE 2 ἐκείνων G 3 δέοι VH EGR 4 ἤσχησε G 5 γὰρ. . .οὔτε om E κἂν: τε ἂν (τε in ras) E καὶ G ἤνυεν VH OELSMGR 6 post θεία add τις V OELMv ratione forte theologica 9 Ἡφέστῳ G 9s οὑτωσί. . .ταμίας om M 10 Ἥφεστος G 12 κρύπτει H 13 εἶπας V LSMG ἂν om SM 15 παρησίας G τὰ σά: ταῦτα AC 16 ad Ἐρασθέντα: ἱστορία C^m schol illeg L^m 17 post εἶναι add λέγουσι H

> τὴν ἀπουσίαν ἐπιτηρήσαντα τὴν ἐκείνου πρὸς αὐτὴν εἰσελθεῖν φασι. Τὸν δὲ Ἀπόλλω θεασάμενον μιγνυμένους αὐτοὺς ἀπελθόντα πρὸς τὸν Ἥφαιστον τὴν μοιχείαν κατειπεῖν. Ἐλθόντα δὲ ἐκεῖνον καὶ ἀμφοτέρους ἐπὶ τῆς κλίνης εὑρόντα δεσμὰ αὐτοῖς οὕτως ὡς εἶχον περιβαλόντα καλέσαι τε τοὺς θεοὺς ἐπὶ τὴν ἀσχήμονα θεωρίαν καὶ ταύτην τῆς μοιχείας πρᾶξασθαι δίκην αὐτούς.

Ταύτης οὖν τῆς χάριτος ὀφειλέτην ὄντα τὸν Ἥφαιστον καιροῦ καλοῦντος ἀγνωμονῆσαι περὶ τὴν ἀντίδοσίν φησι.

111 Τί οὖν καὶ ὁ Ζεύς, ὦ βέλτιστε; Καὶ γὰρ καὶ τούτῳ
πάλιν ἀπήνειαν ἐγκαλεῖς, "Ἀλλ' οὐδὲ ὁ Ζεύς," λέγων, "ὄμβρων
ἡνίας ἔχων ὕδωρ ἀφῆκεν ἐπὶ τὴν φλόγα καὶ ταῦτα Λυδῶν ποτε βασι- 565
λεῖ δυστυχήσαντι σβέσας πυράν." Ἀλλὰ γὰρ καλῶς ποιῶν ἀνέμνησας ἡμᾶς καὶ τοῦ Λυδοῦ. Καὶ γὰρ κἀκεῖνον ὁ μιαρὸς οὗτος δαίμων ἠπάτησεν ἐλπίσι φυσήσας κεναῖς καὶ εἰς προὖπτον κακὸν ἐμβαλών. Καὶ εἰ μὴ φιλάνθρωπος ἦν ὁ Κῦρος οὐδὲν ἂν αὐτὸν ὤνησεν ὁ Ζεύς.

12ss cf supra p 83,16ss 16ss cf Herod 1,85,6; 87,3 18 de φιλανθρωπία virtutum tempore Chrysostomi paganarum principe cf GDowney Historia 4 (1955) 199ss

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BAC VH OELSMGR v 1 post πρὸς hab ἐλ eras G 2 ἐλθεῖν H OSMG Ἀπόλλωνα H OSGR 6 οὕτως om SM εἶχε H OELSMG 6 περιβαλλόντα SG 7 καλέσεται G 8 ταύτην τῆς: ταύτης E εἰσπρᾶξασθαι VH OELSMGRv cf Dem 29,2 10 ὀφειλέτης G τὸν om E 11 καλοῦντες G post καλοῦντος add μὴ AC περὶ: πρὸς AC 12 οὖν in ras B καὶ post οὖν om ACH OSMGR τοῦτο G 13 ἐγκαλλεῖς G ἐγ in ἐγκαλεῖς v^s 15 ἀνέμνησεν O ἐνέμνησαν E 16 κἀκεῖνος G 17 φυσίσας C κακῶν SM 18 Κῦρος: κύριος A ἦν ὁ Κῦρος: ὢν ὁ Κῦρος ἀφῆκεν VH OELSMG om ὢν R ἂν om BH

Ὥστε μάτην ἐγκαλεῖς τῷ Διὶ ὡς προτιμήσαντι τοῦ παιδὸς τὸν Λυδόν--οὐδὲ γὰρ ἑαυτῷ ἔνθα μάλιστα πασῶν ἐτιμᾶτο πόλεων (τὴν Ῥωμύλου λέγω) κεραυνωθεὶς ἤμυνεν.

112 Ἐπακούσωμεν δὲ καὶ τῶν λοιπῶν τοῦ θρήνου ῥημάτων (οὕτω γὰρ τὸ πένθος εἰσόμεθα καλῶς ὃ κατέσχεν αὐτῶν τὰς ψυχάς)·

> Ἄνδρες ἕλκομαι τὴν ψυχὴν πρὸς τὸ εἶδος τοῦ θεοῦ καί μοι πρὸ τῶν ὀμμάτων ἵστησιν ὁ λογισμὸς τὸν τύπον· ἡμερότητα μορφῆς, ἁπαλότητα δέρρης--ἐν λίθῳ καὶ ταῦτα--ζωστῆρα περὶ τῷ στήθει συνάγοντα χιτῶνα χρυσοῦν ὡς αὐτοῦ τὰ μὲν ἐνιζάνειν τὰ δὲ ὑπανίστασθαι. Τὸ δὲ ὅλον σχῆμα τίνος οὐκ ἂν ζέοντα ἐκοίμισε θυμόν; Ἐῴκει γὰρ ᾄδοντι μέλος. Καὶ πού τις καὶ ἤκουσεν ὥς φασιν ἐν μεσημβρίᾳ κιθαρίζοντος. Ὦτα εὐδαίμονα. Τὸ δὲ ᾆσμα ἄρα ἦν ἔπαινος τῆς γῆς ἣ μοι φαίνεται καὶ σπένδειν ἀπὸ τῆς χρυσῆς κυάθου ὅτι τὴν κόρην ἔκρυψε ῥαγεῖσά τε καὶ συνελθοῦσα.

Εἶτα μικρὰ πρὸς τὸν ἐμπρησμὸν ὀγοφυρόμενος,

fr 12 Ἐβόα μὲν

φησίν,

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3 cf Horat Carm 2,3   6 cf supra pp 75,9; 83,12   13s ἐν μεσημβρίᾳ κιθαρίζοντος proverbium Graecum in Corpus paroem graec non animadversum eruditionis causa proferimus: cf infra p 91,17   quod proverbium forte ad cicadum spectat: cf JMackail Select Epigrams from the Greek Anthology 1,65 Ἀχήεις τέττιξ

BCH OELSMGR 5 ἰσόμεθα C   7 post μοι add γε O   καί μοι: καίτοι GR   8 ἡμερότερον G   ἁπαλότερον G   δέρης OG   10 τὰ μὲν: τὸ μὲν H OESMGR   12 ἐκοίμησεν B G   13 φησιν OER   ἐμε σημβρία G   12 κιθαρίζοντας G   16 ἀπὸ ex ὑπὸ G^c 18 ἰμπρησμὸν G   19 ἐβόα bis SM

ὁδοιπόρος ἀνιούσης τῆς αὐγῆς ἐκυκᾶτο δ'ἐφ' ὕλῃ Δάφ-
νης ἔνοικος ἱέρεια τοῦ θεοῦ. Πληγαὶ δὲ στέρνων
καὶ οἰμωγή τις ὀξεῖα διὰ χωρίου πολυδένδρου δρα-
μοῦσα πίπτει μὲν εἰς τὸ ἄστυ δεινή τε καὶ φρικώ-
δης, ὄμμα δὲ ἄρχοντος ἄρτι γευόμενον ὕπνου πικρῷ
ῥήματι τῆς εὐνῆς ἐξανέστησεν. Ὁ δὲ ἐμμανὴς
ἤλαυνε· πτερὰ γὰρ Ἑρμοῦ ζητῶν αὐτὸς μὲν ἐπὶ ζήτη-
σιν ᾔει τῆς τοῦ κακοῦ ῥίζης φλεγόμενος ἔνδον οὐχ
ἧττον ἢ ὁ νεώς, δοκοὶ δὲ ἐφέροντο κάτω φέρουσαι
πῦρ ὅτῳ πελάσειαν φθείρουσαι τὸν Ἀπόλλω μὲν εὐ-
θὺς ἅτε καὶ μικρὸν διέχοντα τοῦ στέγους ἔπειτα
δὲ τὰ ἄλλα κάλλη· Μουσῶν οἰκιστῶν εἰκόνας, λίθων
ἀστραπάς, κιόνων ὥραν. Ὁ δὲ ὅμιλος. . .ἐν ᾧ
περιεστήκεσαν ὀλοφυρόμενοι βοηθεῖν δὲ ἀποροῦντες,
ὃ καταλαμβάνει τοὺς ἀπὸ τῆς γῆς ναυαγίαν ὁρῶντας
fr 13 ὧν ἡ βοήθεια δακρῦσαι τὸ γινόμενον. Ἦ που μέγαν
μὲν ἤγειραν γόον ἐκπηδήσασαι τῶν πηγῶν αἱ νύμφαι
μέγαν δὲ ὁ Ζεὺς ὁ ἐγγύς που καθήμενος ὁποῖον εἰκὸς

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15 cf infra p 92,1s; post ὅμιλος lacunam posuimus ubi multitudinem forte describit Libanius hoc exempli causa modo: ⟨τῶν τὴν Δάφνην οἰκούντων καὶ τῶν προσκειμένων αὐτοῖς συνέδραμεν εἰς τὴν ὕλην⟩
19 Castalia clarissima Daphnae scaturrigo secundum utrumque Apollonis templi latus fluebat: Lib Or 11,242 20 Iovis templum iuxta Apollonis erat sec Lib Or 11,236

BAC VH OELSMGR(a p 90,3 αὐγῆς ad p 93,8 τόπῳ lac praebet R) v
1 αὐγῆς: γῆς OEL αὐγῆσι ut vid G δ': δι' A δὲ O
4 τε: τις H S 7 ἔλαυνε G γὰρ; παρ' CVH OELSMGv post ζητῶν add εἶτα VH OELSMG 8 ᾔει om G 9 ἢ: ἦν G
10 πελάσειε B O πελάσαιεν H πολάσειον M πελάσαι G τὸ ante πῦρ add H Ἀπόλλωνα G post μὲν add οὖν H OG
12 post δὲ add καὶ H 13 κοιόνων C ὥρας VH OELSMGv ante ὅμιλος add ἀνδρῶν OEL ἐν ᾧ: ὁμοῦ OELSMGv alterutrum om Fronto Duc 15 τῆς om VH SMG

ἐπὶ τιμαῖς υἱέος συγκεχυμέναις μέγαν δὲ δαιμόνων μυρίων ὅμιλος ἐν τῷ ἄλσει διαιτωμένων. Οὐδὲν ἐλάττω θρῆνον ἐκ μέσης τῆς πόλεως ἡ Καλλιόπη τοῦ χαροποιοῦ τῶν Μουσῶν ἠδικημένου τῷ πυρί.

Εἶτα πρὸς τῷ τέλει φησί·

fr 14 Γενοῦ μοι καὶ νῦν, Ἄπολλον, οἷόν σε ἐποίησεν ὁ Χρύσης καταρώμενος τοῖς Ἀχαιοῖς θυμοῦ τε πλήρη καὶ νυκτὶ ἐοικότα ὅτι δή σοι τὰς στολὰς ἡμῶν ἀποδιδόντων καὶ ὅσον ἦν ἀπενεχθὲν ἀντικαθιστάντων προανηρπάσθη τὸ τιμώμενον οἷον νυμφίου τινὸς πλεκομένων ἤδη στεφάνων ἀπελθόντος.

XXI 113 Ὁ μὲν θρῆνος οὗτος μᾶλλον δὲ ὀλίγα τοῦ θρήνου μέρη. Ἐμοὶ δὲ θαυμάζειν ἔπεστι, πῶς ἐφ' οἷς ἐγκαλύπτεσθαι ἐχρῆν ἐπὶ τούτοις αὐτὸν σεμνύνειν οἴεται, οὐδὲν ἄμεινον ἀκολάστου νέου καὶ αἰσχροῦ κατὰ μεσημβρίαν ποιῶν αὐτὸν κιθαρίζοντα καὶ τοῦ ἄσματος ὑπόθεσιν εἶναι λέγων τὴν ἐρωμένην καὶ ὦτα εὐδαίμονα καλῶν τὰ τῆς ᾠδῆς ἐπακούσαντα τῆς αἰσχρᾶς. Καὶ 566

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4 Calliopes deae praesidis simulacrum in Antiochiae theatro Io Malalas p 275,19ss (ed Stauffenberg): cf GDowney A History of Antioch in Syria pp 216s 7s cf Hom Il 1,43ss

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AC VH OELSMGR v 1 τιμαῖς: πηγαῖς G υἱέως AV SMGR υἱέος: θεῶν OEL 2 μυρίος VH OSM -οις G 3 δ' ante ἐλάττω iungens add G θρήνων AC 4 χαροποιοῦ: χοροποιοῦ H OELSMGRv χορο- e χωρο- G^e 5 τῷ: τὸ C 7 Ἄπολλων C 8 τοὺς Ἀχαιοὺς G 9 ἐοικότι G 10 στολὰς: θυσίας OELSMG 14 Ὁ om E ut vid L 15 ἔπεισι VH OELSMGRv 16 οὐδὲν om V 17 καθαρίζοντα H G 19 ἐπακούσοντα AC C τὸ μὲν τινας τῶν τὴν Δάφνην οἰκούντων δακρύειν καὶ τοὺς προσκειμένους αὐτοῖς καὶ τὸν τῆς πόλεως ἄρχοντα φλέγεσθαι καὶ πλέον τῶν θρήνων μηδὲν ἐμποιεῖν, οὐδὲν θαυμαστόν, τὸ δὲ καὶ αὐτοὺς τοὺς θεοὺς ἐπὶ τῆς αὐτῆς ἀμηχανίας εἶναι καὶ δακρύειν μόνον κατ' αὐτοὺς καὶ μήτε τὸν Δία μήτε τὴν Καλλιόπην μήτε τὸν πολὺν τῶν δαιμόνων ὅμιλον ἀλλὰ μηδὲ τὰς νύμφας αὐτὰς ἀρκέσαι πρὸς τὴν πυρὰν ἀλλὰ πάντας κωκυτοὺς καὶ οἰμωγὰς ἐγείρειν μόνον, τοῦτό ἐστι τὸ πολλοῦ γέλωτος γέμον. Ὅτι μὲν οὖν μεγάλην εἶχον πληγὴν ἱκανῶς ἐκ τῶν εἰρημένων ἀποδέδεικται--καὶ γὰρ καὶ ἐν μέσῳ που τῆς μονῳδίας ῥητῶς οὕτως περὶ τὰ καίρια πεπλῆχθαι αὐτοὺς ὡμολόγησεν. Οὐκ ἂν οὖν τοῦτο πρᾴως ἤνεγκεν ὁ βασιλεὺς μὴ δέει καὶ τρόμῳ μείζονι κατεχόμενος.

114 Ὥρα δὴ λοιπὸν ἐπιδεῖξαι καὶ τὴν αἰτίαν δι' ἣν ὁ θεὸς οὐκ εἰς τὸν βασιλεύοντα τὴν ὀργὴν ἀφῆκεν ἀλλ' εἰς τὸν δαίμονα, καὶ διὰ τί μὴ πάντα ἀπώλεσε τὸ πῦρ τὸν ναὸν ἀλλὰ τὴν στέγην ἀφανίσαν ἅμα καὶ τὸ εἴδωλον ἤλεγξεν. Οὐ γὰρ ἁπλῶς οὐδὲ ἄνευ αἰτίας τινὸς ταῦτα ἐγένετο ἀλλ' ἀπὸ τῆς τοῦ θεοῦ φιλανθρωπίας τῆς ὑπὲρ τῶν πλανωμένων πάντα ἐδρᾶτο. Ὁ γὰρ τὰ πάντα εἰδὼς πρὶν γενέσεως αὐτῶν μετὰ τῶν ἄλλων ᾔδει καὶ τοῦτο, ὅτι κατὰ μὲν τοῦ βασιλέως ἐνεχθέντος τοῦ κεραυνοῦ οἱ μὲν παρόντες καὶ

18s cf Matt 10.29s

BAC VH OELSMG 1 τῶν: τὸν AC post τὴν spat vac A post τοὺς
add μὲν BAC OLG μὴ H 3 ποιεῖν VH OLS 5 οὐ post μόνον
add S τὸν: τοῦ G 6 μήτε H 6s ἐξαρκέσαι H 8 τὸ om O
10 οὗτος V SM που om OL 12 μὴ δέει καὶ: μηδὲ εἰναι E
μ in μείζονι in ras G καταδεχόμενος M 14 βασιλέα VH OELSG
15 νεὼν` OEL 16 ἤλεγξεν: ἔληξεν VH OELS ἔληγεν M ἔλεξεν G
Οὐ: οὐδὲ VH OLSMG 17 αἰτίας τινὰς ταῦτα ἐγίνετο B^2 ἐγίνετο C
18 τὰ om AC 19 πρὶν: περὶ G ᾔδει: ἤδη AC G

θεασάμενοι τὴν πληγὴν ἐφοβήθησαν ἂν πρὸς καιρόν, δευτέρου δὲ καὶ τρίτου παρελθόντος ἔτους ἥ τε μνήμη τοῦ γεγονότος ἀπώλλυτο καὶ πολλοὶ οἱ διαπιστήσοντες ἦσαν τῷ θαύματι. Εἰ δὲ ὁ ναὸς δέξοιτο τὴν φλόγα παντὸς κήρυκος σαφέστερον οὐ τοῖς τότε μόνον ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῖς μετέπειτα πᾶσιν ἀπαγγελεῖ τοῦ θεοῦ τὴν ὀργήν, ὡς καὶ τοῖς βουλομένοις ἀναισχυντεῖν καὶ συγκαλύπτειν τὸ γεγονὸς πᾶσαν ἀνῃρῆσθαι πρόφασιν. Ἕκαστος γὰρ ἐφιστάμενος τῷ τόπῳ ὥσπερ ἄρτι συμβεβηκότος τοῦ ἐμπρησμοῦ οὕτω διατίθεται τὴν ψυχὴν καὶ φρίκη τις αὐτὸν εἴσεισι καὶ πρὸς τὸν οὐρανὸν ἀπιδὼν εὐθέως δοξάζει τοῦ ταῦτα ἐργασαμένου τὴν ἰσχύν.

115 Ὥσπερ γὰρ ἂν εἴ τις λῃστάρχου τινὸς σπήλαιον καὶ κατάδυσιν διαρρήξας ἄνωθεν ἐξαγάγοι τὸν ἐνοικοῦντα δέσμιον καὶ τὰ αὐτοῦ πάντα λαβὼν καταλίποι τὸν τόπον θηρίων καὶ κολοιῶν εἶναι καταφυγήν, εἶτα ἕκαστος τῶν πρὸς τὴν κατάδυσιν ἐρχομένων ἐκείνην ἅμα τὸν τόπον ὁρῶν τὰς καταδρομὰς καὶ τὰς κλοπὰς καὶ τὴν ἰδέαν φαντάζεται καὶ ὑπογράφει τοῦ πρότερον κατοικοῦντος αὐτήν, οὕτω καὶ ἐνταῦθα γίνεται. Πόρρωθεν γάρ τις τοὺς κίονας ἰδὼν εἶτα ἐλθὼν καὶ τὸν οὐδὸν ὑπερβὰς ὑπογράφει ἑαυτῷ τὸ τοῦ δαίμονος ἀποτρόπαιον, τὴν ἀπάτην, τὰς ἐπιβουλάς, καὶ καταπλαγεὶς τοῦ θεοῦ τήν τε ὀργὴν καὶ τὴν ἰσχὺν ἄπεισι καὶ τὸ πρότερον πλάνης οἰκοδόμημα καὶ βλασφημίας νῦν δοξολογίας ὑπόθεσις γίνεται. Οὕτως εὐμήχανός ἐστιν ἡμῶν ὁ θεός.

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lss cf infra p 104,lss

BAC VH OELSMGR v 1 πληγὴν: πόλιν E πρὸ ut vid E 2 τρίτου: τρόπου G ἀπόλλοιτο AC 3 ὁ om AC 4 δέξαιτο S κήρικος G σαφέστερος G 7 ἀνηρεῖσθαι C 8 ἐμπρισμοῦ C 10 ἰσχύν: δύναμιν VH OELSMR 11 εἴ om OE 12 ἐξαγάγει EL δεσμὸν E 13 καταλείποι AC τῶν τόπων B κολυῶν AC 16 ὑπογράφειν R post πρότερον spat vac A 18 ὑπερβὰς om AC 20 τε om EL

116 Καὶ τὰ παράδοξα ταῦτα οὐ νῦν πρῶτον ἀλλ' ἄνωθεν καὶ
ἐκ τῶν προτέρων θαυματουργεῖ γενεῶν. Καὶ πάντα μὲν καταλέγειν
οὐ τοῦ παρόντος καιροῦ, ἐπιμνησθήσομαι δὲ ὃ τούτῳ παρόμοιον
εἶναι δοκεῖ. Πολέμου γὰρ συγκροτηθέντος ἐν τῇ Παλαιστίνῃ
ποτὲ τοῖς 'Ιουδαίοις πρὸς ἀλλοφύλους τινὰς νικήσαντες οἱ
πολέμιοι καὶ τοῦ θεοῦ τὴν κιβωτὸν λαβόντες ὡς δὴ λάφυρόν τι καὶ
ἀκροθίνιον ἀνέθηκαν αὐτήν τινι τῶν ἐπιχωρίων εἰδώλῳ (Δάγων ἦν
ὄνομα αὐτῷ); Καὶ τὸ πρῶτον εἰσενεχθείσης τῆς κιβωτοῦ κατέπεσέ
τε τὸ ζῴδιον καὶ ἔκειτο πρηνές. 'Ως δὲ οὐ συνίεσαν τῆς τοῦ
θεοῦ δυνάμεως τὴν ἰσχὺν ἀπὸ ταύτης τῆς πτώσεως ἀλλ' ὀρθώσαντες 567
αὐτὸ πάλιν ἐπὶ τῆς οἰκείας ἔστησαν ἕδρας, τῇ ὑστεραίᾳ ὑπὸ τὴν
ἕω παραγενόμενοι θεωροῦσιν οὐκέτι μόνον πεπτωκὸς ἀλλὰ καὶ διακεκλασμένον
πάντοθεν. Αἵ τε γὰρ χεῖρες ἀποσπασθεῖσαι τῶν ὤμων
εἰς τὸν οὐδὸν ἐξηκοντίσθησαν τοῦ ναοῦ μετὰ τῶν ποδῶν τό τε
λοιπὸν τοῦ ξοάνου μέρος εἰς ἕτερον διέσπαρτο τόπον διασπασθέν.
Καὶ τῶν Σοδόμων δέ--ὡς ἄν τις μεγάλῳ παραβάλοι μικρόν--διὰ
τοῦτο μετὰ τῶν οἰκητόρων καὶ ἡ γῆ καταφλεχθεῖσα ἀπώλετο καὶ
γέγονεν ἄκαρπος ἵνα μὴ μόνον οἱ τότε ἀλλὰ καὶ οἱ μετ' ἐκείνους
ἅπαντες ὑπὸ τῶν τόπων σωφρονίζωνται. Εἰ γὰρ ἔστη μέσρι τῶν

4s cf 1 Regn 5,1ss 16ss cf Gen 19,24ss; videas et Strabo 16,2,44
et Aug De civ Dei 21,8 (ed Bardy)

BAC VH OELSMGR v 3 τούτου OL 7 εἰδώλων OEL Δάγων: Γαγὼν
M post Δάγων add δὲ VH Gv 9 [illegible]ε om A ES ζῴδιον: ξόανον
BVH OELSMGRv συνήεσαν B 11 οἰκείας: ἰδίας H ἕδραι G
ὑπὸ: ἐπὶ B 13 πάνταχόθεν AC 14 τό τε: τότε R 15 το in
διέσπαρτο bis M 16 τις om E μεγάλῳ om R παραβάλλει VH
17 οἰκημάτων E 18 ἐγενε ante γέγονεν eras G 19 ὑπὸ: ἀπὸ
AC VH OELSMGRv σωφρονίζονται H Εἰ: η V μέχρη C

ἀνδρῶν ἡ κόλασις κἂν ἠπιστήθη μετὰ ταῦτα τὸ γεγονός. Διὰ τοῦτο ὁ τόπος δέχεται τὴν πληγὴν ὁ τῷ χρόνῳ παρεκταθῆναι δυνάμενος καὶ ἑκάστην τῶν ἐπιγινομένων ὑπομιμνήσκει γενεῶν ὅτι τοὺς τὰ τοιαῦτα δρῶντας τοιαῦτα πάσχειν νενομοθέτηται κἂν μὴ παραυτὰ τὴν τιμωρίαν τίσωσιν, ὅπερ καὶ ἐπὶ τοῦ ναοῦ γέγονε τούτου.

117 'Ιδοὺ γὰρ εἰκοστὸν ἔτος ἐστὶν ἐξ ἐκείνου λοιπὸν καὶ τῆς ὑπὸ τοῦ πυρὸς καταλειφθείσης οὐδὲν παραπόλωλεν οἰκοδομῆς ἀλλ' ἕστηκε παγίως καὶ βεβαίως τὰ διαφυγόντα μέρη τὸ πῦρ καὶ οὕτως ἐστὶν ἰσχυρὰ ὡς καὶ πρὸς ἑκατὸν ἔτη καὶ πρὸς ἕτερα δὶς τοσαῦτα καὶ τούτων πάλιν πολλῷ πλείονα ἀρκέσαι χρόνον. Καὶ τί θαυμαστον εἰ τῶν τοίχων οὐδεὶς ἀποσχισθεὶς θατέρου κατηνέχθη πρὸς τοὔδαφος; Τῶν γὰρ κιόνων τῶν περὶ τὸν ὀπισθόδομον εἷς τότε μόνος διακλασθεὶς οὐδὲ οὗτος κατέπεσεν ἀλλὰ διαλυθεὶς ἀπὸ τῆς οἰκείας ἕδρας καὶ πρὸς τὸν τοῖχον ἀναπεσὼν οὕτως ἔμεινε. Καὶ αὐτοῦ τὸ μὲν ἀπὸ τῆς κρηπῖδος ἐπὶ τὴν τομὴν πλάγιον πρὸς τὸν τοῖχον ἐρήρεισται τὸ δὲ ἀπὸ τῆς τομῆς ἐπὶ τὴν κεφαλίδα

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4 cf Polybius 12,25b3   7ss cf supra pp 59,4; 71,4ss

BAC VH OELSMGR v 1 ἐπιστήθη M ἠπιστήθη μετὰ: ἠπίστημετα E γεγονός in ras C 3 ἐπιγενομένων BC OGR ἀπομιμνήσκει E 4 δρῶντας τοιαῦτα om E νεμοθέτηται AC 5 παρ' αὐτὰ H καὶ om E 8 καταληφθείσης B S καταφλεχθείσης H 10 ἑκατὸν: ἑαυτὸν H 11 πολλῶν G 12 τῶν om G τοίχων: τοιούτων BVH ES κιόνων Mv κιόντων G cf supra p 71,15 12 ἀποσχισθεὶς: ἀποσπασθεὶς OE ante κατηνεχθη add litt eras (π?) H 14 μόνον BC OELMGRv οὗτως AC 15 post ἀναπεσὼν iterum ἀλλὰ. . . ἕδρας (p 95,14 s) eras E 17 τοῖχον: τεῖχον GR^c ἐρήρισται B ἐρίρεισται C ἕστηκεν ὕπτιον τοῦ κατωτέρου βασταζόμενον μέρους. Καίτοι καὶ ἀνέμων σφοδρῶς τῷ τόπῳ προσπεσόντων πολλάκις καὶ σεισμῶν γενομένων καὶ τῆς γῆς τιναχθείσης οὐδ' ἐτινάχθη τὰ λείψανα τῆς φλογὸς ἀλλ' ἕστηκε βεβαίως μονονουχὶ βοῶντα ὅτι διὰ τὸν τῶν ἐσομένων τετήρηνται σωφρονισμόν.

XXII 118 Καὶ τοῦ μὲν μὴ πάντα ἁλῶναι τῷ πυρὶ τὸν νεὼν ταύτην ἂν εἴποι τις εἶναι πρόφασιν, τοῦ δὲ μὴ ἐλθεῖν ἐπὶ τὸν βασιλέα τὸν σκηπτὸν καὶ ἑτέραν εὕροι τις ἂν αἰτίαν ζητῶν ἀπὸ τῆς αὐτῆς ὁρμωμένην πηγῆς, τῆς χρηστότητος λέγω καὶ φιλανθρωπίας τοῦ Χριστοῦ. Διὰ γὰρ τοῦτο τῆς μὲν τοῦ βασιλέως κεφαλῆς τέως ἀνέσχε τὸ πῦρ ἔρριψε δὲ αὐτὸ κατὰ τῆς ὀροφῆς ἵνα ἐν ταῖς ἑτέρων συμφοραῖς παιδυεθεὶς ἐκφύγῃ τὴν ἀποκειμένην αὐτῷ κόλασιν μεταβαλὼν καὶ τῆς πλάνης ἀπαλλαγείς. Οὐδὲ γὰρ τοῦτο μόνον οὐδὲ πρῶτον αὐτῷ τῆς οἰκείας δυνάμεως σημεῖον ἔδωκεν ὁ Χριστὸς ἀλλὰ καὶ ἕτερα πρὸς τούτοις πολλὰ τούτου οὐχ ἧττονα. Ὅ τε γὰρ θεῖος ὅ τε ταμίας οὕτως ἄμφω καταλύσαντες τὸν βίον καὶ λιμὸς εἰς τὴν πόλιν εὐθέως ἐμπεσὼν μετ' αὐτοῦ καὶ ἡ τῶν ὑδάτων σπάνις οὐδέποτε συμβᾶσα πρότερον ἀλλ' ἢ μετὰ τὰς ἐπὶ τῶν

1ss terrae motus Antiochiae AD 365 et Theodore imperatore (379-95): cf GDowney A History of Antioch in Syria pp 400, 435 13ss cf Io 20.30 15s cf supra pp 69,15ss; 70,8ss 17ss sicitatem initio hiemis 361-362 Antiochiae perscribunt Amm Marc 22,13,4; Lib Or 18,195; Iul Misop 369a: videas et GDowney Studies in Roman Economic and Social History in Honor of Allan Chester Johnson, pp 312-321

AC VH OELSMGR v 3 οὐδ': οὐκ AC VH OLSM 5 τετήρηντι E 6 ταῦτα VH 7 εἴποι τις om GR 8 εὕρῃ GR 10 τοῦ R^s τέως om BAC OELSMGRv πυρὶ EG^c ἔκρινε M 12 ἐκφύγοι E 12s μεταλαβὼν E 15 τούτου: τούτων OELSMGR 16 post θεῖος add αὐτοῦ VH OELSMGRv ἄμφω H^m 17 ἡ τῶν: καὶ οἱ G

πηγῶν γενομένας θυσίας ὑπ’ αὐτοῦ καὶ πολλὰ πρὸς τούτοις ἕτερα, τά τε ἐν τῷ στρατοπέδῳ τά τε ἐν ταῖς πόλεσι συμβαίνοντα, καὶ λιθίνην ἱκανὰ κάμφαι φυχὴν οὐ τῷ πλήθει μόνον οὐδὲ τῷ πάντα ὁμοῦ γίνεσθαι καὶ ἐφεξῆς καὶ κατὰ πόδας τῶν τολμημάτων ὡς ἐπὶ τοῦ βασιλέως τῶν Αἰγυπτίων ποτὲ ἀλλὰ τῷ καὶ καθ’ ἑαυτὰ τοιαῦτα εἶναι τὰ δεικνύμενα τέρατα ὡς μὴ δεῖσθαι ἕτερον ἑτέρου πρὸς τὴν τῶν ὁρώντων ἐπιστροφὴν ἀλλ’ ἀρκεῖν ἕκαστον αὐτῶν καὶ καθ’ ἑαυτὸ τοῦτο ἐργάσασθαι.

119 Ἵνα γὰρ τὰ ἄλλα παραλίπω, οὐκ ἂν ἐξέπληξεν τὸν μὴ
σφόδρα ἀναίσθητον τὸ περὶ τὰ θεμέλια τοῦ παλαιοῦ τῶν Ἱεροσολύμων
ναοῦ σημεῖον ἐπιδειχθέν; Τί δὲ τοῦτο ἦν; Ὁρῶν ὁ τύραννος
εἰς τὴν ἀρχὴν ἅπασαν τὴν ὑπ’ αὐτῷ κειμένην τοῦ Χριστοῦ τὴν 568
πίστιν ἐκκεχυμένην ἤδη δὲ καὶ τῆς Περσῶν ἁφαμένην καὶ βαρβάρων
ἑτέρων μετ’ ἐκείνους καὶ πάλιν ἐνδοτέρω τούτων προελθοῦσαν καὶ
πᾶσαν ὡς εἰπεῖν τὴν ὑφ’ ἡλίῳ κατέχουσαν ἐδάκνετο μὲν καὶ ἤλγει
καὶ πρὸς τὸν τῶν ἐκκλησιῶν παρεσκευάζετο πόλεμον, ἠγνόει δὲ
"πρὸς κέντρα λακτίζων" ὁ δείλαιος. Καὶ πρῶτον μὲν τὸν ἐν Ἱεροσολύμοις
ναὸν ὃν εἰς ἔδαφος ἡ τοῦ Χριστοῦ κατήνεγκε δύναμις

2ss de odio inter Iulianum et Antiochenses illius Misopogon hieme 362-363 scriptum legere licet 4s cf Ex 7,19ss 13 cf supra p 13,4s 17 cf Corpus paroem graec 1 (ZV 70, DVI 84), 2 (GCM IV 100, Ap VI 57, XIV 100) 17ss hunc locum et supra p 95,1s miscuit LTillemont Mémoires à l'histoire ecclésiastique 11,558 initio 363 Iulianus Iudaeis templum restituere suadebat: cf Amm Marc 23,1,2s; Iul ep 134 (ed Bidez); Socrates HE 3,20 (PG 67, 429) 18 cf Apoc Io 14 et PCarrington The Early Christian Church 1,236s

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AC VH OELSMGR v 2 στρατοπαίδῳ AC καὶ om L 4 γίνεται AC καὶ post ἐφεξῆς om V OSM 5 ἀλλὰ καὶ τῷ H ESGR 7 αὐτῶν om SM 8 ἐργάζεσθαι AC 9 παραλείπω AC G 9 τίνα ante οὐκ add VH OELSMGRv μὴ ex οὐ H^{cm} 9s τῶν. . .ἀναισθήτων AC VH OELSMGRv 11 ἐπιδειχθέντι GR 12 κειμένων E Χριστοῦ: χρηστοῦ A 13 τῆς: τῶν OE ἁφαμένων G 14 προελθοῦσα E 15 ἥλιον VH OELSMGR 16 παρασκευάζετο M 17 ἐν om H E

ἀνορθοῦν ἐπειρᾶτο καὶ τὰ τῶν Ἰουδαίων ὁ Ἕλλην ἐθεράπευεν ἀπόπειραν διὰ τούτου τῆς τοῦ Χριστοῦ δυνάμεως βουλόμενος λαβεῖν. Καὶ καλέσας Ἰουδαίων τινὰς καὶ θύειν κελεύσας—καὶ γὰρ τοὺς προγόνους τοὺς ἐκείνων τοῦτον τῆς θρησκείας θρησκεύειν τὸν τρόπον ἔλεγεν—ἐπειδὴ εἰς ταύτην ἐκεῖνοι κατέφυγον τὴν ἀναχώρησιν ὡς οὐ θέμις αὐτοῖς τοῦ ναοῦ πεπτωκότος ἔξω τῆς παλαιᾶς μητροπόλεως τοῦτο ποιεῖν κελεύει χρήματα ἀπὸ τῶν ταμείων λαβόντας τῶν βασιλικῶν καὶ τὰ ἄλλα ἅπαντα ἃ πρὸς τὴν οἰκοδομὴν παρέχειν ἐχρῆν ἀπιέναι καὶ ἀνορθοῦν τὸν ναὸν καὶ ἐπὶ τὴν παλαιὰν ἐπανιέναι συνήθειαν τῶν θυσιῶν. Οἱ δὲ ἀνόητοι πλανώμενοι ἐκ κοιλίας καὶ παιδευόμενοι ἕως γήρους ἀπῄεσαν ὡς συμπράξοντες τῷ βασιλεῖ. Καὶ ὡς αὐτῷ τε ὁμοῦ τὸν χοῦν ἤρξαντο κενοῦν καὶ πῦρ τῶν θεμελίων ἐκπηδῆσαν ἀθρόον ἅπαντας αὐτοὺς κατηνάλωσεν. Ὡς δὲ ἀπηγγέλθη ταῦτα τῷ βασιλεῖ οὔτε περαιτέρω τὴν τόλμαν προάγειν ἐπεχείρει λοιπόν—κατείχετο γὰρ τῷ δέει—οὔτε τῆς πλάνης τῶν δαιμόνων ἤθελεν ἀπαλλάττεσθαι καθάπαξ τυραννηθεὶς ὑπ' αὐτῶν ἀλλὰ τέως μὲν ἡσυχίαν ἦγε.

120 Χρόνου δὲ παρελθόντος μικροῦ τῆς αὐτῆς εἴχετο ματαιοπονίας τὸν μὲν νεὼν οὐκ ἔτι τολμῶν οἰκοδομεῖν ἑτέρωθεν δὲ ἀκροβολιζόμενος πρὸς ἡμᾶς. Εἰς πόλεμον γὰρ καθεῖναι φανερὸν

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11 cf supra p 86,9

BAC VH OELSMGR v 1 ἐθεράπευεν om M 5 ἐκεῖνοι εἰς ταύτην GR τὴν om v Fronto Duc 5 ἀναχώρησιν: ἀπολογίαν VH OELSMGR 8 βασιλεικῶν C πάντα OESMG τὴν om OE οἰκοδομῶν E 11 κυλίας G γήρως CVH OELSMv 11 s συμπράξαντες G 12 ὡς om BH SM V^s αὐτὸν VH OELSMGRv ὁμοῦ post χοῦν SM 13 καὶ om AC VH ELG 14 κατανάλωσεν BV ELSMGRv ἀνηγγέλθη G 15 προάγειν τὴν τόλμαν SM λοιπόν om GR 16 δέει in ras G 16 καθάπαξ: καθάπερ OE 18 αὐτῆς O^s 20 ὑμᾶς C φανερῶς VH OELSMGRv

ἀνεβάλετο τέως ἑνὸς μὲν καὶ μάλιστα πρώτου τοῦ πεπεῖσθαι σαφῶς ἀδυνάτοις ἐπιχειρῶν, δευτέρου δὲ τοῦ μηδεμίαν ἡμῖν ἀφορμὴν παρασχεῖν μαρτυρίου στέφανον ἀναδήσασθαι. Καὶ γὰρ ἀφόρητον ἦν αὐτῷ καὶ πάσης συμφορᾶς χεῖρον τὸ παραχθέντα τινὰ εἰς μέσον μέχρι τελευτῆς ἐγκαρτερῆσαι ταῖς ὑπὲρ τῆς ἀληθείας βασάνοις. Οὕτως ἐκ ψυχῆς τὴν πρὸς ἡμᾶς ἀπέχθειαν ἀπεδείκνυτο. Κακοῦργος δὲ ὢν καὶ δεινὸς τοὺς ὑπὸ τῶν ἀρχόντων τῆς ἐκκλησίας κεκολασμένους δι' ἁμαρτίας τινὰς καὶ τῆς ἀρχῆς ἐκβεβλημένους πάντας πάντοθεν ἤφιε, τούτῳ τῷ τρόπῳ τοῖς τε πονηροτάτοις ἐξουσίαν διδοὺς καὶ τοὺς τῆς ἐκκλησίας ἀνατρέπων θεσμοὺς καὶ πρὸς ἀλλήλους συγκρούων ἅπαντας· εὐχειρώτους γὰρ λοιπὸν ἔσεσθαι πρότερον ὑπὸ τοῦ πρὸς ἀλλήλους καταναλωθέντας πολέμου. Καί τινα καὶ τῆς τοῦ δόγματος ἕνεκεν διαστροφῆς καὶ τῆς τοῦ βίου μοχθηρίας τῆς ἀρχῆς τῆς ἐκκλησιαστικῆς ἐκβεβλημένον--Στέφανος ὄνομα ἦν αὐτῷ--κελεύει πάλιν τὸν διδασκαλικὸν θρόνον ἀναλαβεῖν. Καὶ

1s de Iuliani erga Christianos AD 361-362 animo pacato cf JBidez La vie de l'empereur Julien pp 292, 228: "Pendant la première partie de son règne, il lui répugna de recourir à des mesures de rigueur en matière religieuse. . .Il lui semblait que, pour ranimer les anciennes ferveurs, il suffirait de rendre aux dieux la liberté d'exercer leur action bienfaisante et que bientôt on verrait l'hellénisme plus vigoureux que jamais 7ss AD 361 veniam Christianorum relegatorum Iulianus sanxit: cf Amm Marc 22,5,2ss 12ss de Stephano episcopo Antiochiae s IV med cf BKidd A History of the Church to AD 461 2,93s et 97s

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BAC VH OELSMGR v 1 ἀνεβάλλετο CVH OELMG 2 ἐπιχειρεῖν AVH OELSMGRv ἡμῖν om V 4 τὸ: τὸν H 5 τῆς ἀληθείας om GR τοῖς ante βασάνοις add G et τοῦ R 6 ἐπεδείκνυτο AC VH SMGRv ἐπεδείξατο OEL post ἀπέδεικνυτο add Ἤδει γὰρ ᾔδει σαφῶς ὅτι τοῦτο τολμήσαντος αὐτοῦ πάντες ἂν ὑπὲρ τοῦ Χριστοῦ τὰς ἑαυτῶν προὔδωκαν ψυχάς VH ELSMGRv om αὐτοῦ B^{m2} om τοῦ O quae verba pro Christianorum virtute propugnantia textui convenire non videntur 8 διὰ SG 9 ἠφίει VH OELSMGR 12 πονηροτέροις O 11 ante λοιπὸν add αὐτῷ OELSMG προσεδόκησεν post πρότερον add B^{m2} 14 ἐκκλησίας E 14s ἦν ὄνομα AC S 15 post κελεύει add δὲ H τὸ Κυριακὸν δὲ ὄνομα τέως σβεσθῆναι τό γε εἰς αὐτὸν ἦκον ἐσπούδαζε Γαλιλαίους ἀντὶ Χριστιανῶν αὐτός τε ἐν τοῖς διατάγμασι καλῶν καὶ τοὺς ἄρχοντας τοῦτο προτρέπων ποιεῖν.

121 Μεταξὺ δὲ τῶν σημείων τούτων ὧν εἶπον γενομένων τῶν κατὰ τὸν λιμὸν καὶ τὸν αὐχμὸν ἔμενεν ἐπὶ τῆς αὐτῆς ἀναιδείας ἔτι καὶ σκληρότητος. Καὶ μέλλων ἐπιστρατεύειν τῷ Πέρσῃ καὶ μετὰ τοσούτου τύφου κατιὼν εἰς ἅπαν τὸ τῶν βαρβάρων ἀναρπασόμενος ἔθνος ἠπείλει μυρίας ἡμῖν ἀπειλὰς λέγων μετὰ τὴν ἐκεῖθεν ἀπάνοδον πάντας ἄρδην ἀπολεῖν· πόλεμον γὰρ αὐτῷ τοῦτον εἶναι τοῦ 569
Περσικοῦ χαλεπώτερον καὶ δεῖν πρότερον κατορθώσαντα ἐκεῖνον τὸν ἐλάττω τότε ἐπὶ τὸν μείζονα τοῦτον ἐλθεῖν. Καὶ ταῦτα ἡμῖν οἱ τῆς γνώμης αὐτῷ κοινωνοῦντες ἀπήγγελλον. Ζέων δὲ τῷ καθ' ἡμῶν θυμῷ καὶ καθ' ἑκάστην ἡμέραν πρὸς μείζονα μανίαν αἰρόμενος οὐδέποτε ἐπὶ τῆς αὐτῆς ἵστατο γνώμης ἀλλὰ τὴν προτέραν βουλὴν ἀναθέμενος πάλιν ἠπείλει τὸν διωγμὸν ἡμῖν. Βουλόμενος δὲ αὐτὸν

1ss cf HLietzmann Geschichte der alten Kirche 3,268; EBorries RE 10 (1917), 49 qui negat hoc nomen fastidiosum legibus sanctum 8s Christianorum insectationem post bellum Persicum intendit Iulianus sec multos scriptores inveniendos apud JBidez Bulletins de l'Acad royale de Belgique, Classe des lettres 7 (1914) 447

AC VH OELSMGR v 1 τό γε: τότε G 4 τούτων om L τούτων τῶν σημείων OE τῶν: τὸν AC 6 ἔτι om OE ἔτι: τὲ MS ἐπιστρατεύειν: εἰς τὸ στρατεύειν H τῷ Πέρσῃ: εἰς τὸν Πέρσην H 7 ἀναρπασόμενον E 8 ἡμῖν om G ἡμῖν post ἐκεῖθεν OELSMGR 9 ἄρδειν AC G ἀπόλλειν AC ἀπωλεῖν G^e post εἶναι add ἐδόκει VH OELSMGRv τοῦτον om GR 10 δεῖν: δὴ LSMG πρότερον: πρῶτα OELM πρῶτον G ἐκεῖνον: ἐκεῖθεν SR 12 ἀπήγγελον om G 13 ἡμᾶς SR αι in αἱρόμενος in ras V 15 ἀποθέμενος V OELRV 15s ὁ θεὸς αὐτὸν OEL ὁ θεὸς ἀνακρούσασθαι καὶ καταστεῖλαι φλεγμαίνοντα ἐπήγαγε πάλιν τουτὶ τὸ σημεῖον ἐν τῇ Δάφνῃ τὸ πῦρ ἐπὶ τὸν νεὼν ἀφείς. Ὁ δὲ οὐδὲ οὕτω καθυφῆκε τοῦ θυμοῦ ἀλλὰ τῇ τῆς ἡμετέρας λεηλασίας ἐπιθυμίᾳ διαρρηγνύμενος οὐδὲ τὸν καιρὸν ὃν ἠπείλησεν ἔμεινεν ἀλλὰ τὸν Εὐφράτην διαβαίνειν μέλλων ἀπόπειραν ἐποιεῖτο τῶν στρατιωτῶν καί τινας εὐαριθμήτους κολακείᾳ διαφθείρας τοὺς ἀντιστάντας οὐ παρέλυσε τῆς στρατείας δεδοικὼς μὴ διαστήσας αὐτοὺς ἀσθενέστερον ἐργάσηατι τῷ Πέρσῃ τὸν στρατόν.

122 Τίς ἡμῖν τὰ ἐντεῦθεν διηγήσεται καὶ τῶν κατὰ τὴν ἔρημον καὶ τῶν κατὰ τὴν θάλατταν καὶ τῶν κατὰ τὴν Αἴγυπτον ὅτε ὁ ἀναίσθητος ἐκεῖνος ἐκολάζετο Φαραὼ καὶ πάντες κατεποντίζοντο ὄντα πολλῷ φοβερώτερα; Καθάπερ γὰρ τότε ἐπεὶ μηδενὶ τῶν τοιούτων εἶξε συμφορῶν καὶ γενέσθαι βελτίων ἠθέλησεν ὁ Αἰγύπτιος τέλος αὐτὸν σὺν αὐτῷ τῷ στρατοπέδῳ κατέλυσεν, οὕτω καὶ νῦν ἐπειδὴ πρὸς πάντα ἀναιδῶς ἔστη τοῦ θεοῦ τὰ τέρατα καὶ οὐδὲν ἀπ' αὐτῶν κερδᾶναι ἠθέλησεν ἀλλ' ἔμενεν ἀδιόρθωτος, τοῖς ἐσχάτοις αὐτὸν λοιπὸν περιέβαλε κακοῖς ἵν' ἐπειδὴ τοῖς ἑτέρων

5ss Chrysostomus martyres Antiochenses sub Iuliano non refert: cf supra p 99,6 9ss epica constructio verborum 11 cf Ex 7ss

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BAC VH OELSMGR v 1 καταστῆλαι **C** φλεγμένοντα **G^{c}** 3 τῇ **om H** 4 ἐπιθυμίᾳ **om S** ἠπείλεισεν **O** 4s ἔμενεν **VH ELSMGRv** 6s ἀντιστάντες **A^{s}V et pr** ν **in ras B** ἀντιστάτας **R** ἀν[τ]ιστάντας **v** 7 οὐ: οὔτε **B** 8 τὸν **om EL** 9 τὰ: ταὶ **R** διηγήσαιτο **S** διηγήσηται **G** 10 τὸν κατὰ τὴν θάλατταν καὶ τὸν κατὰ τὸν Αἴγυπτον **E** 11 ὁ **om H** ἀνέσθητος **G** 12 ὄντα: ὧν τὰ **C** πολλὰ **C** ἐπεὶ: επι **EL** 13 εἶξαι **VH OSMv** ἦξε **R** βελτίους **AC** ὁ **om G** 14 τέλος **om AC** σὺν **om H OESMGR** ἑαυτῷ **H SMGR** στρατοπαίδῳ **C** υσ **in** κατέλυσεν **in ras B** κατέδυσεν **VH OELSMGRv** 15 πρὸς: καὶ **E** ἅπαντα **H** τὰ **ante** τοῦ **H** τέρατα: τεράστια **VH OELSMGv et** ι **in ras R** καὶ **om G** 16 ἐθέλησεν **H** ἔμεινεν **AC LG** 17 αὐτοῖς **R** περιέβαλλε **G**

αὐτὸς σωφρονισθῆναι οὐκ ἠνέσχετο τοῖς αὐτοῦ παθήμασι γένωνται βελτίους ἕτεροι. Ὁ γὰρ τοσαύτας μυριάδας στρατιωτῶν καταγαγὼν ὅσας οὐδεὶς τῶν βασιλευσάντων ποτὲ καὶ πᾶσαν τὴν Περσῶν ἐξ ἐπιδρομῆς καὶ ἀπονητὶ προσδοκήσας ἑλεῖν οὕτως ἀθλίως ἔπραξε καὶ ἐλεεινῶς ὡς γυναικῶν μᾶλλον καὶ παιδίων μικρῶν ἢ ἀνδρῶν στρατόπεδον ἔχων μεθ' ἑαυτοῦ. Πρῶτον μὲν γὰρ εἰς τοσαύτην αὐτοὺς ἀνάγκην ὑπὸ τῆς οἰκείας ἀβουλίας κατέστησεν ὥστε ἱππείων ἀπογεύσασθαι κρεῶν καὶ τοὺς μὲν τῷ λιμῷ τοὺς δὲ τῷ δίψει διαφθαρέντας ἀποθανεῖν. Καθάπερ γὰρ τοῖς Πέρσαις στρατηγῶν καὶ οὐκ ἐκείνους ἑλεῖν ἀλλὰ τοὺς οἰκείους αὐτοῖς προδοῦναι σπουδάζων οὕτως αὐτοὺς εἰς χωρία συνέκλεισεν ἄπορα καὶ μόνον οὐχὶ δήσας παρέδωκεν.

123 Ἀλλὰ πάσας μὲν τὰς ἐκεῖ γενομένας συμφορὰς οὔτε τῶν ἰδόντων τις καὶ πεῖραν εἰληφότων δυνήσεται διελθεῖν (οὕτω πᾶσαν ἀπέκρυψεν ὑπερβολήν), ὡς δὲ ἐν κεφαλαίῳ εἰπεῖν πεσόντος αὐτοῦ αἰσχρῶς καὶ ἐλεεινῶς--οἱ μὲν γὰρ ὑπό τινος τῶν σκευοφόρων τοῖς

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2 cf Amm Marc 22,12,3ss 3s bellum Persicum cupiebat Iulianus sec Amm Marc 22,12,1s 6 Iuliani milites post Ctesiphontem obsessam siccitate inopiaque cibi adfecti sunt (AD 363): cf Amm Marc 24,7,7; 8,2s; Zosimus 3,26,4 11 cf Amm Marc 24,7,4; Lib Or 18,262ss 15ss de Iuliani morte cf Amm Marc 25,3,6s et videas Philostorgius p 101 (ed Bidez), qui multiplicem de hac re memoriam praebet

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AC VH OELSMGR 1 ἠνέσχετον R γένονται G 3 τὴν: τῶν E 4 ἔπραξε om C 4s καὶ ἐλεεινῶς ἔπραξε AH OELSMGR 7 ἀβουλείας G κατέστησεν om G ἱππίων C 8 τῇ δίψει AC VH OELGR 9 post γὰρ add καὶ SGR 13 καὶ om H 14 ὑπέκρυψεν G 15 σημείωσαι ad αἰσχρῶς V^{m} ἐλεεινῶς καὶ αἰσχρῶς OEL ad οἱ add ὥστε ἀληθὲς εἶναι δοκεῖ τὸ ᾀδόμενον θεήλατον αὐτῷ τὴν πληγὴν γενέσθαι V^{m} eadem in textu post πεσόντος (p 102,14) M eadem praeter τὸ ᾀδόμενον ad Καθάπερ (p 102,9) H^{m} σκεβοφόρων G

παροῦσι δυσανασχετοῦντος βληθέντα ἀποθανεῖν αὐτόν φασιν, οἱ δὲ οὐδὲ εἰδέναι τὸν σφαγέα τὸν ἐκείνου λέγουσιν ἀλλ' ὅτι μόνον ἐπλήγη καὶ παρεκάλεσεν εἰς τὴν Κιλίκων ταφῆναι γῆν ἔνθα καὶ κεῖται νῦν--πεσόντος δὴ οὖν οὕτως αἰσχρῶς ὁρῶντες ἐν τοῖς ἐσχάτοις αὐτοὺς ὄντας οἱ στρατιῶται προέπεσον τοῖς ἐχθροῖς καὶ δόντες ὅρκους ἀποστήσεσθαι τοῦ πάντων ἀσφαλεστάτου χωρίου καὶ ὃ τῆς καθ' ἡμᾶς οἰκουμένης ὥσπερ τεῖχος ἦν ἀρραγές, φιλανθρώπων τε τυχόντες τῶν βαρβάρων οὕτω διέφυγον καὶ ἐπανῆλθον ἐκ πολλῶν ὀλίγοι καὶ αὐτοὶ πεπονηκότες τὰ σώματα, 570 αἰσχυνόμενοι μὲν ἐφ' οἷς συνέθεντο ἀναγκαζόμενοι δὲ διὰ τοὺς ὅρκους ἀποστῆναι τῶν πατρικῶν κτημάτων αὐτοῖς. Καὶ ἦν ἰδεῖν πάσης αἰχμαλωσίας ἐλεεινότερον θέαμα. Οἱ γὰρ τὴν πόλιν οἰκοῦντες ἐκείνην, παρ' ὧν χάριτας προσεδόκεσαν λήψεσθαι ὅτι δίκην προβόλου πάντας τοὺς ἔνδον ἐν λιμένι κατέστησαν ἀντὶ πάντων πρὸς πάντας αὐτοὶ προβεβλημένοι τοὺς κινδύνους ἀεί, παρὰ τούτων τὰ τῶν πολεμίων ἔπασχον εἰς ἀλλοτρίαν μετανιστάμενοι γῆν καὶ οἰκίας ἀφέντες καὶ ἀγροὺς καὶ πάντων τῶν κτημάτων ἀποσπώμενοι τῶν προγονικῶν καὶ ταῦτα ὑπὸ τῶν οἰκείων ὑπομείναντες. Τοιαῦτα τοῦ γενναίου βασιλέως ἀπολελαύκαμεν.

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3 cf Amm Marc 23,2,5; 9,12   6s Castra Maurorum regio Transtigritana erat munimentum oportunum sec Amm Marc 25,7,9   8 cf supra p. 88,18

BAC VH OELSMGR v   1 δυσανεσχυτοῦντες G   βληθέντος AC   2 εἰδέναι: εἶναι H   σφαγαία E   3 Κιλιλικὸν G   καὶ post ἔνθα om C OL   4 οὖν om OG   τοῖς om SM   4 s ἐν. . .ὄντας om EL   5 προσέπεσαν A   πρὸς ἔπ- C   6 ἀποστήθεσθαι B   χωρίου: φρουρίου AC VH OELSMGRv forte recte   7 τῆς: τοῖς M   ἡμῶν G   οἰκουμένοις G   ὥσπερ: ὡς E   τεῖχος ἦν: τοιχοῦ εἶναι G   11 αὐτοῦς VH   12 ἐλεεινώτερον C   13 προσεδόκησας G   14 λιμένη AC   17 τῶν om O   18 ἀποσπώμενοι: ἀποσχόμενοι OEL   19 ad Τοιαῦτα: εἰρωνεία L^m

124 Ταῦτα δὲ οὐχ ἁπλῶς εἴρηται ἀλλ' ὥστε λῦσαι τὴν ἀπορίαν τῶν ζητούντων, τί δήποτε μὴ τὸν βασιλέα ἐκόλασεν ἐξ ἀρχῆς ὁ θεός; 'Εβουλήθη μὲν γὰρ αὐτὸν λυττῶντα πολλάκις ἀναστεῖλαι τῆς εἰς τὸ πρόσω φορᾶς καὶ τοῖς ἑτέρων διορθῶσαι κακοῖς, ἐπειδὴ δὲ ἀντέτεινε παρέδωκεν αὐτὸν τοῖς ἐσχάτοις κακοῖς τὴν μὲν ἀληθῆ τῶν αὐτοῦ τολμημάτων αντίδοσιν κατὰ τὴν μεγάλην ταμιευόμενος ἡμέραν καὶ διὰ τῆς παρούσης δὲ κολάσεως τοὺς ὑπτιωτέρους διανιστᾶς καὶ σωφρονεστέρους ποιῶν. Τοιαύτη γὰρ ἡ τοῦ θεοῦ μακροθυμία τοῖς οὐκ εἰς δέον χρωμένοις αὐτῇ πικροτέραν πρὸς τὸ τέλος ἐπάφει τὴν δίκην, καὶ καθάπερ τοῖς μετανοοῦσιν ὠφέλιμος οὕτω καὶ τοῖς ἀνενδότοις καὶ σκληροῖς μειζόνων γίνεται κολάσεων πρόφασις.

125 Εἰ δὲ λέγοι τις, τί οὖν οὐ προῄδει τὸν τύραννον ἀδιόρθωτον ἐσόμενον ὁ θεός, ἐροῦμεν ὅτι προῄδει μὲν ἀλλ' οὐδέποτε παύεται διὰ τὴν πρόγνωσιν τῆς ἡμετέρας κακίας τὰ αὐτοῦ ποιῶν. 'Αλλὰ κἂν ἡμεῖς μὴ δεχώμεθα τὴν νουθεσίαν αὐτὸς τὴν φιλανθρωπίαν ἐπιδείκνυται τὴν αὐτοῦ. Εἰ δὲ εἰς μείζονα ἑαυτοὺς ὠθοῦμεν κακὰ οὐκέτι τοῦτο παρὰ τὸν οὐ διὰ τοῦτο μακροθυμήσαντα ἵνα ἀπολώμεθα ἀλλ' ἵνα σωθῶμεν, ἀλλὰ παρ' ἡμᾶς τοὺς ἐξυβρίσαντας

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13 cf supra p. 92,18s   19 cf 1 Tim 2,4

BAC VH OELSMGR(p. 104,14 θεός term R) v   2 βασιλέαν G
ἐξ ἀρχῆς om BAC   ἐξ in ras O   ἐξ ἀρχῆς ἐκόλασεν VH   4 πρόσω:
πρόσωπον G   πρό$\overset{\pi}{\sigma}$ω R   φορᾶς om M   4s ἐπειδὴ. . .κακοῖς om
per hom EL   5 ἀνέτεινε AC   7s δανειστὰς H   9 πικροτέρας GR
9s πρὸς τὸ τέλος om B   (cf ἐξ ἀρχῆς supra p. 104,2)
πικροτέρον post τέλος OEL   10 καὶ om H   ὀφέλιμος C   13
λέγει G   14 προῄδει: πρόφησης G   16 δεχόμεθα AC E   17
ἐπιδείκνυται om C   αὐτοῦ: ἑαυτοῦ A OELSMv   αὑτοῦ H MG
18 παρὰ τὸν: παρ' αὐτὸν A ESMv   τὴν eras ante τὸν H
ἡμᾶς: ὑμᾶς G

εἰς τὴν ἄφατον ἀνεξικακίαν αὐτοῦ. Καὶ οὕτω δὲ τῆς φιλανθρωπίας τὸ ἄπειρον δείκνυται· ὅταν γὰρ μὴ θελήσωμεν αὐτοὶ τῆς πολλῆς αὐτοῦ μακροθυμίας ἀπόνασθαι τότε εἰς τὸ ἑτέρων αὐτὴν τρέπει κέρδος πανταχοῦ τό τε φιλάνθρωπον ὁμοῦ καὶ τὸ εὐμήχανον ἐπιδεικνύς.

126 Ὅπερ καὶ τότε γέγονε καὶ ὁ μὲν τύραννος οὕτω τὸν βίον κατέλυσε, τῆς δὲ μανίας αὐτοῦ καὶ τῆς δυνάμεως τοῦ μακαρίου Βαβύλα ἕστηκεν ὑπομνήματα ὅ τε νεὼς καὶ τὸ μαρτύριον ὁ μὲν ἔρημος ὢν τὸ δὲ αὐτὴν ἔχον ἐνέργειαν ἥνπερ καὶ πρότερον. Ἡ δὲ λάρναξ οὐκέτι πάλιν ἀνάγεται τοῦ Θεοῦ καὶ τοῦτο οικονομήσαντος ἵνα τρανοτέρα τοῖς ἐπιγινομένοις γένηται τῶν τοῦ ἁγίου κατορθωμάτων ἡ γνῶσις. Ἕκαστος γὰρ τῶν ἐξ ἀλλοτρίας ἡκόντων ἐφιστάμενος τῷ τόπῳ καὶ τὸν μάρτυρα ζητῶν εἶτα οὐχ ὁρῶν ἐκεῖ εὐθέως ἐπὶ τὸ ζητῆσαι τὴν αἰτίαν ἔρχεται καὶ οὕτω πᾶσαν τὴν ἱστορίαν ἀκούσας ἄπεισι πλέον κερδάνας ἢ πρότερον. Οὕτω καὶ παραγενόμενος τῇ Δάφνῃ καὶ πάλιν αὐτὴν ἐγκαταλιπὼν τὰ μέγιστα ὀνίνησι.

127 Τοιαύτη ἡ τῶν μαρτύρων ἰσχὺς καὶ ζώντων καὶ τελευτώντων καὶ τόποις ἐφισταμένων καὶ πάλιν αὐτοὺς καταλιμπανόντων. Καὶ γὰρ ἐξ ἀρχῆς μέχρι τέλους συνῆπται τὰ κατορθώματα συνεχῆ. Ὅρα

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8 cf supra pp 95,7ss; 74,7   18 eadem verba de heroe in Plato Crat 398c3

BAC VH OELSMG 1 ἑαυτοῦ A 3 ἀπώνασθαι BC τὸ om V ὑπὲρ ante ἑτέρων add VH OELMG ἕτερον AC 4 πάν in πάνταχου bis G 5 δεικνύς V υς in ἐπιδεικνύς in ras H 7 τῆς δὲ: τοῖς δὲ M 8 ναὸς O 10 τοῦτο: τοῦ E 11 τρανω- C OM τρανοτέρας G γένηται post τρανοτέρας G γίνηται H SM ἁγίου in ras V 13 ἐφιστάμενοι G 14 ἔρχεται ex ἄρχε- G° Οὗτος C 17 ὀνήσι E 18 τελευτώντων: τελευτῶν G 19 αὐτοῖς H ἐγκαταλιμπανόντων O 20 ἀρχῆς in ras V

γάρ· ἤμυνε τοῖς τοῦ θεοῦ νόμοις ὑβριζομένοις, ἔλαβεν ὑπὲρ τοῦ
τετελευτηκότος δίκην ἣν ἔδει, ἔδειξεν ὅσον ἱερωσύνης καὶ βασιλείας
τὸ μέσον, κατέλυσε πάντα τὸν τοῦ κόσμου τῦφον, κατεπάτησε 571
τοῦ βίου τὴν φαντασίαν, ἐπαίδευσε τοὺς βασιλεῖς μὴ πέρα τοῦ
δοθέντος αὐτοῖς παρὰ τοῦ θεοῦ μέτρου τὴν ἐξουσίαν προάγειν,
ἔδειξε τοῖς ἱερωμένοις πῶς ταύτης προΐστασθαι τῆς ἀρχῆς δεῖ.
Καὶ ταῦτα μὲν καὶ τούτων πλείονα ἡνίκα ἦν ἐν σαρκί, ἐπειδὴ δὲ
μετέστη καὶ ἀπεδήμησε κατέλυσε τοῦ δαίμονος τὴν ἰσχύν, διήλεγξε
τὴν τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἀπάτην, ἀπεκάλυψε τῆς μαντείας τὸν λῆρον, συνέτριψε
τὸ προσωπεῖον αὐτῆς καὶ πᾶσαν αὐτῆς τὴν ὑπόκρισιν 572
γυμνώσας ἐπέδειξε τὸν ἐν αὐτῇ δοκοῦντα κρατεῖν ἐπιστομίσας καὶ
καταβαλὼν μετὰ πολλῆς τῆς σφοδρότητος. Καὶ νῦν ἑστᾶσιν οἱ
τοῖχοι τοῦ νεὼ πᾶσι κηρύττοντες τοῦ δαίμονος τὴν αἰσχύνην,
τὸν γέλωτα, τὴν ἀσθένειαν, τοῦ μάρτυρος τοὺς στεφάνους, τὴν
νίκην, τὴν δύναμιν. Τοσαύτη ἡ τῶν ἁγίων ἰσχύς, οὕτως ἄμαχος καὶ
φοβερὰ καὶ βασιλεῦσι καὶ δαίμοσι καὶ αὐτῷ τῷ τῶν δαιμόνων
ἀρχηγῷ.

BAC VH OELSMG v 2 ἔδει om B ἱεροσύνης C post τῦφον add καὶ BVH LSMv 4 πέρα in ras O πέραν G 5 μέτρου om AC VH 7 τὰ ante τούτων add G 8 μετέστη: μετέβη H διήλεγξαι G^c 9 μαντείας: ἁμαρτίας E 9 s τῆς. . .συνέτριψε om H 10 π in προσωπεῖον bis G πᾶσιν AC 12 τα in καταβαλὼν M^s καταβάλλων G 12 τῆς om V 13 οἱ in τοῖχοι in ras V 14 τὴν ἀσθένειαν G^2 17 post ἀρχηγῷ add τόδε θεῷ εἴη δόξα V τοῦ γὰρ Κυρίου ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ μόνον ἡ βασιλεία καὶ ἡ ἰσχὺς καὶ αὐτῷ πρέπει ἡ δόξα σὺν τῷ ἀνάρχῳ πατρὶ καὶ τῷ συναννάρχῳ πνεύματι νῦν καὶ ἀεὶ καὶ εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας τῶν αἰώνων ἀμήν OELSMG sed ante αἰῶνας add ἀτελευτήτους SM ἡ δόξα om M ἡ ante δόξα om G

2.

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Critical Edition of, and Introduction to St. John Chrysostom's De Sancto Babyla, contra Iulianum et Gentiles.

Dissertation directed by Rev. Herbert Musurillo, S.J.

The subject of the dissertation lies within the Patristic area of classical philology, which is concerned with the Christian writers of classical antiquity. On the one hand, Patristic writings are the last vital phase of classical literature; on the other, as products of Christianity, they are something totally new: an interpretation by great classical minds of the historic faith of Israel, which formed the intellectual and spiritual basis of the Catholic Church, Greek and Roman; which remain today the theological bulwark of the faith; and which may, in the future, together with Holy Scripture, be the foundation upon which Christianity will be united again. Within the large area of Patristics, the dissertation is devoted to philological criticism of an apologetic treatise by St. John Chrysostom (A.D. 344/57-407). By "lower criticism" or textual criticism, we have established a new text of the treatise, as close as possible to the original written by the Greek doctor; and through "higher criticism" or historical and literary analysis, we have ascertained the literary form of the work, its theme, contents, date and authenticity.

The treatise Concerning St. Babylas, Against Julian [the Apostate] and the Pagans was written by John Chrysostom at Antioch-on-the-Orontes between A.D. 376 and 379. The theme of the discourse is the power of Christ as the source of Christianity's astounding victory over paganism and Hellenic culture. This theme is illustrated by the history of St. Babylas, martyr-bishop of Antioch, who while alive demonstrated Christ's power through acts of heroism, and whose relics possessed the power of the Lord to work miracles. Babylas' encounter with an unknown Roman emperor and his martyrdom under Decius (A.D. 249-251) constitute, in Chrysostom's own terms, the ancient history of the bishop; while the modern history of Babylas contains miraculous events associated with his relics during the reigns of Gallus (A.D. 351-354) and Julian the Apostate (A.D. 361-363). As part of the modern history of Babylas, Chrysostom quotes from the lost lament of Libanius, pagan rhetorician of Antioch, on the temple of Apollo at Daphne, suburb of Antioch, which had been mysteriously silenced by the transportation thither of the bishop's relics.

The first stage of the dissertation was to restore the text of this treatise as close as possible to the original written by Chrysostom. This restoration was achieved by a process termed constitutio textus, which consists of collation (collatio) and recension (recensio). The manuscripts which contain this treatise (fourteen plus one fragment) were read and the variant readings noted (collatio). Then the text proper and the critical apparatus were constructed (recensio). The text contains those readings, which seem, whether on grammatical, stylistic or historical grounds, to be closest to the original; while the apparatus offers, for the sake of scientific accuracy, the significant but inferior variants which appeared in the manuscripts. A study of the variants indicated two branches of textual transmission, which are apparently not dependant upon one another, but independently related to the archetype. One branch of the transmission was evidently corrected by a Byzantine editor before the eleventh century, when the earliest corrected manuscripts were written.

The second stage of the dissertation is the Introduction, which comprises (1) remarks on the individual manuscripts used to establish the text, with a stemma codicum or family tree designed to show the interrelationships of the various manuscripts; (2) literary analysis of the discourse, including an outline, a discussion of its date and an attempt to refute what we consider erroneous arguments against its authenticity; (3) and a study of the fragments of Libanius' lament on the temple of Apollo at Daphne (Or. 60).

The final stage of the dissertation was to evaluate the historical content of the treatise, as well as the political, religious and cultural viewpoints expressed therein by Chrysostom. The source material for this evaluation was found in both ancient writers, pagan and Christian, and the research of modern scholars. For the early history of Babylas under Decius (A.D. 249-251), we utilize Eusebius' Ecclesiastical History and Leontius' notice in the Chronicon Paschale, in addition to Socrates, Sozomene and Philostorgius. Knowledge of the later history of St. Babylas is found in the writings of the emperor Julian, Libanius and Ammianus Marcellinus; while modern historians of ancient Antioch provide much information on the shrines of St. Babylas at Antioch. Especially important are G. Downey's history of the city (Princeton, 1961), and the second report of the Princeton excavations at Antioch (Princeton, 1938). For convenience and clarity a commentary,devoted to the historical and theological aspects of the discourse, was inserted in Latin at the bottom of each page of the text.

VITA

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